DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 386 137 HE 028 545

TITLE	Women in Higher Education Management.
INSTITUTION	Commonwealth Secretariat, London (England).; International Development Research Centre, Ottawa (Ontario).; International Federation of Univ. Women.; Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents, and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities.; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France).
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	200p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Education Department, Human Resource Development Division, Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y FHX, England, United Kingdom.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Role; *College Administration; Developed Nations; Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Management Development; Regional Characteristics; Sex Role; *Women Administrators
IDENTIFIERS	Bahrain; Canada; Caribbean; Finland; France; Glass Ceiling; India; Indonesia; Malaysia; Nigeria; Peru; South Pacific; United States; University of the South Pacific (Fiji); University of the West Indies; West Indies; Women College Presidents

ABSTRACT

This volume contains 11 papers on the under-representation of women in higher education management in Bahrain, Finland, France, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Peru, the United States and Canada, the South Pacific and the West Indies. All papers were written by women vice-chancellors, presidents and senior managers of universities in those nations. The papers are: "Bahrain: The Role of Women in Higher Education Management in the Arab Region" (Rafica S. Hammoud); "Finland: Women in Higher Education in Finland" (Veronica Stolte-Heiskanen); "France: The Role of Women in the Administration of Higher Education in France" (Michele Gendreau-Massaloux); "India: The Place of Women in the Management of Higher Education in India" (Suma Chitnis); "Indonesia: Indonesian Women in Higher Education Management" (Mariana Setiadarma); "Malaysia: Women Managers in Higher Education in Malaysia" (Asmah Haji Omar); "Nigeria: Women in Higher Education Management--The Nigerian Context" (Grace Alele Williams); "Peru: The Woman's Role in the Administration of Higher Education in Peru" (Gladys Buzzio Zamora RSCJ); "USA/Canada: Women in Higher Education Management in the United States and Canada" (Sandra Featherman); "University of the South Pacific: Women in Higher Education Management in the South Pacific--The Case of the University of the South Pacific" (Konai H. Thaman and Sarojini Pillay); and "University of the West Indies: Staff Development and Gender Equity in the Commonwealth Caribbean Universities--The Experience of the University of the West Indies" (Gwendoline Williams and Claudia Harvey). (Some papers contain references.) (JB)

ED 386 137

sitive factors. In proble
patience in decision-m
ems.

will be wasted if she does n
ep up on the management
s is the greatest problem fa
field of higher education. T
education is still far below t
tiary level is a very importan
it of this sector.

atens Indonesian socie
conciliatory attitu
h consensu
on Indon
us cult
y.

s. They can be professi
the place of origin. The i
emselves. Besides these or
level. These organizatior
ies for high-level decision-r

p management in higher educa
s. It is a process of evolution, r
deration the rapid progress
on world trends in every field, th

HE028545

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality
● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
UNESCO
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

Commonwealth Secretariat

United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization

With the participation of:

The International Development Research Centre

and:

The International Federation of University Women

The Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and
Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities

Authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in signed articles and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNESCO and do not commit the Organization.

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Published in 1993
by the United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization
7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP

© UNESCO 1993

FOREWORD

The Commonwealth Secretariat and UNESCO are organizations committed to the full involvement of women in higher education, including its decision-making processes. The Commonwealth Plan of Action on Women and Development and the Third Medium-Term Plan of UNESCO (1990-95) both call for measures which will enhance the participation of women in development.

Higher education makes a vital contribution to sustainable development through the generation and dissemination of knowledge. The effective management of this domain merits top priority at a time when universities worldwide face critical challenges due to the unprecedented expansion yet drastically reduced resources of higher education. The numerous and complex issues facing society moreover demand that social investment in institutions of higher education is fully justified in terms of its return to the community.

The under-representation of women in higher education management is well-documented and serves to demonstrate that the pool of managerial talent within each country is not optimally utilized. Current practices of recruitment and promotion require urgent investigation in order to understand the barriers to women's progress and to identify strategies to bring about a fairer gender balance based on professional equality.

In this collection of essays, women managers working in diverse socio-cultural and geographical contexts analyze the obstacles which they have faced and overcome during their careers. Four principal themes emerge: the general participation of women in education; the extent of their involvement in higher education management, including impediments to their advancement; the development of strategies to surmount these career limitations; and the particular contribution of women to the management of higher education.

The authenticity and depth of the authors' insights provide rich, experience-based material for higher education specialists and policy-makers alike. They provide a framework within which existing practice may be reviewed and new policies elaborated, so as to accelerate the participation of women in higher education management.

Emeka Anyaoku
Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat

Federico Mayor
Director-General
UNESCO

EDITORIAL NOTE

It has been our privilege and pleasure to collaborate in the realization of this study on women in higher education management.

Higher education is the traditional training ground for society's leaders and specialized manpower. Today, the education of a graduate constitutes an investment for each and every country. This should be returned through this person's sound contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of the nation. In this respect, men and women have equal responsibility.

As the 21st century approaches, women graduates face exciting perspectives. Increasingly, they will be strongly urged to assume their rightful place in the decision-making process - both in the systems and institutions of higher education and also in the various professions for which they have studied. As this dual role is of the greatest importance for society, women merit strong encouragement in these endeavours.

We hope that this study will stimulate further reflection and action regarding the issue of women in higher education management so that their presence in this domain may be strengthened.

We wish to express our gratitude to the authors and to our colleagues who have contributed to this project. Special thanks are due to the partner organizations of the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNESCO which have generously provided support: the International Development Research Centre, Canada, which has sponsored the French version, the Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities and the International Federation of University Women.

Hena MUKHERJEE
Commonwealth Secretariat

Mary-Louise KEARNEY
UNESCO

PRODUCTION

Coordination:	**Liliana Simionescu**
French Version:	**UNESCO, Irène Michine, Martine Coursodon, Madeleine Schickler, Sophie Guerin**
Cover Design:	**Jeanette Wahl**

Contents

Notes on the Authors 5

Overview 11
Elizabeth Dines, University of Adelaide, Australia

Bahrain: The Role of Women in Higher Education Management in the Arab Region 31
Rafica S. Hammoud

Finland: Women in Higher Education in Finland 53
Veronica Stolte-Heiskanen

France: The Role of Women in the Administration of Higher Education in France 67
Michèle Gendreau-Massaloux

India: The Place of Women in the Management of Higher Education in India 81
Suma Chitnis

Indonesia: Indonesian Women in Higher Education Management 105
Mariana Setiadarma

Malaysia: Women Managers in Higher Education in Malaysia 121
Asmah Haji Omar

Nigeria: Women in Higher Education Management - The Nigerian Context 135
Grace Alele Williams

Peru: The Woman's Role in the Administration of Higher Education in Peru 147
Gladys Buzzio Zamora RSCJ

USA/Canada: Women in Higher Education Management in the United States and Canada 165
Sandra Featherman

University of the South Pacific: Women in Higher Education Management in the South Pacific - The Case of the University of the South Pacific 177
Konai H. Thaman and *Sarojini Pillay*

University of the West Indies: Staff Development and Gender Equity in the Commonwealth Caribbean Universities - The Experience of the University of the West Indies 187
Gwendoline Williams and *Claudia Harvey*

The French version has been sponsored by
The International Development Research Centre, Canada

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Elizabeth Dines, Australia

Elizabeth Dines is the Academic Registrar of the University of Adelaide, South Australia. Her varied career has taken her from school teaching to academia, to the public service and now to university administration.

In 1984 Dr. Dines moved into general management in the Australian Public Service and for a time was responsible for a diverse range of personnel policies covering recruitment, educational qualifications and training. She became Academic Registrar at Adelaide in 1988, a role which has drawn on her expertise and experience in educational policy making and administration. A major focus of her activity has been the development of the University's international programs, particularly in the area of student exchanges.

Married with four children Dr. Dines well knows the pressures which professional women encounter in balancing their multiple roles. Her current research interests are in exploring the ways in which women resolve the tensions between their personal and professional lives and in formulating a theory of a female management style.

Rafica Hammoud, Bahrain

Professor Hammoud was born in Lebanon and graduated in Psychology from the Lebanese University, Beirut. Also, she holds a doctorate from the Université de Paris III (Sorbonne).

After a distinguished teaching and administrative career in Lebanon, she moved to Bahrain where she coordinated diploma courses in Education and was a UNESCO adviser in Teacher Education. In 1985 she became chairperson of the Department of Education at the University of Bahrain, then dean and professor in 1991.

She has participated in numerous regional and international seminars in the field of Education and is the author of over 30 books and articles dealing with education issues in the Arab world. Her special interests include the status and education of women in this region and population studies.

Sarojini Pillay, Fiji

Sarojini Pillay is Registrar at the University of the South Pacific Suva (USP), Fiji.

She graduated from the University of Madras, India, in Science and Teaching, and has lectured in Biology at the Schools of Medicine and Agriculture of the USP.

Her long experience in university administration has covered a wide range of areas including Extension Services, Staffing and Finance.

Ms Pillay has studied university management systems through exchange programmes with institutions in Australia, notably the Universities of Melbourne and New England, Armidale. In 1988, she obtained a Master of Science in Administration from the Central Michigan University, USA.

Veronica Stolte-Heiskanen, Finland

Vice-Rector at the University of Tampere, Dr. Stolte Heiskanen holds degrees in Science and Sociology from Columbia University, the University of Chicago and the University of Helsinki. She is currently a member of the Finnish National Commission for UNESCO and has served on the committee on Problems and Obstacles in Women's Careers in Science, set up by the Finnish Ministry of Education.

She is the author of many publications in the fields of Science and Sociology and is the current president of the Tampere Peace Research Institute.

Michèle Gendreau-Massaloux, France

Professor Gendreau-Massaloux holds degrees in Spanish and Political Science and has taught at the Universities of Paris III (Sorbonne), Paris XIII (Villetaneuse), and also Limoges where she was Vice-President. From 1981-84, she was Rector of the Academy of Orléans and Tours. Since 1984, she has held several important posts in the French administration and commenced her present position as Rector of the Academy and Chancellor of the Paris Universities in 1989.

She is the author of a number of works on Spanish literature and is a board member of both the Conseil d'Administration de l'Association française d'Action artistique and the Collège universitaire français de Moscou.

Mme Gendreau-Massaloux holds the rank of Chevalier in the Ordre de la Légion d'Honneur.

Marie Françoise Fave-Bonnet provided research assistance for the article written by Professor Gendreau-Massaloux. She is a lecturer at the Université de Paris X at Nanterre and has done extensive analysis on women in higher education.

Suma Chitnis, India

Suma Chitnis (Ph.D., M.A. Sociology, B.A. Philosophy) is currently Vice Chancellor of the Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey (SNDT) Women's University at Bombay. This university established in 1916 serves 40,000 students in a range of disciplines through its 32 graduate colleges and 38 departments for post-graduate study and research. It has several other academic and research programmes, amongst which is the country's largest and best known Centre for Research on Women. It also has a major programme in Education Management which offers a variety of courses for Women Administrators in Education.

Prior to taking up this post, Professor Chitnis was Head of the Unit for Research in Sociology of Education as well as Director of the Women's Studies Programme at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Bombay.

She has lectured and published extensively in both fields. She is a widely published author and has taught abroad as a research fellow and Visiting Professor. Among her administrative appointments, Professor Chitnis has served on many official bodies dealing with higher education in India.

Mariana Setiadarma, Indonesia

Born in Bojonegoro, Indonesia in 1933, Mariana Setiadarma is the mother of 4 children and holds a degree in Economics from the Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.

After running her own business for 15 years, she became a lecturer in Industrial Economics and Organizational Behaviour at the Atma Jaya Catholic University in 1975, where she was named dean of the Economics Faculty in 1987.

Currently, she is Rector of this university and is active in the International Federation of Catholic Universities for which she is Vice-President of the Asia region.

Asmah Haji Omar, Malaysia

Professor Asmah Haji Omar holds a doctorate in General Linguistics from the University of London and was appointed to the Chair of Malay Linguistics at the University of Malaya in 1976. As well, she is the director of the University's Language Centre.

Her research interests focus on language planning and sociolinguistic issues. She has written extensively on these subjects and participated in international projects related to these fields.

Professor Omar was responsible for the establishment of the University of Malaya's Language Centre in 1972, dealing with both its curriculum and administrative planning. From 1983-1986, she was Deputy Vice Chancellor of the university.

Grace Alele Williams, Nigeria

Grace Alele Williams was Vice Chancellor of the University of Benin, Benin City until her retirement in August 1992. She holds master's and doctoral degrees in Education and undertook her studies at University College Ibadan, the University of Vermont and the University of Chicago. During her distinguished academic and administrative career, she has worked in many of Nigeria's leading educational establishments including the University of Lagos where she headed the Arts and Education Divisions.

Professor Williams has had a special interest in the access of female African students to scientific and technological subjects and is the author of several publications on mathematics.

For several years, Professor Williams was a member of the UNESCO Advisory Committee on Higher Education for Africa which is charged with leading regional debate on the major issues facing higher education on this continent. From 1990-1991 she was a member of the Association of Commonwealth Universities Executive Committee.

Gladys Buzzio Zamora, Peru

Sister Gladys Buzzio Zamora, who holds a doctorate in Education from the Pontifica Universidad Católica de Perú, is a religious in the Sacred Heart order. She also has diplomas in Philosophy and Literature and has extensive experience in distance learning.

Since 1959, she has held a number of high administrative posts in educational institutions and is currently Rector of the Universidad Feminina del Sagrado Corazón in Lima.

She has been active in bodies which have focused on the participation of women in education and in civic affairs both in relation to Peruvian society and internationally.

A well-known speaker and author, she was honoured in 1990 for her work in the development of the Instituto Pedagogico Nacional, Monterrico.

Konai Helu Thaman, Tonga

Dr Konai Helu Thaman was born and raised in Tonga. She graduated from Auckland University in Geography and holds an MA in International Education from the University of California at Santa Barbara, and a PhD from the University of the South Pacific (USP). She has taught at both high school and university. She currently holds a joint appointment as Reader in Education and Pro Vice Chancellor at the USP.

She has participated in numerous regional and international seminars and workshops in the fields of Education, Culture, and Ecotourism, and published widely in the areas of curriculum development, teacher education and cultural studies.

Her special interests include culture and education and women and education.

Gwendoline Williams, Trinidad and Tobago

Gwendoline Williams, a lecturer in Management Studies, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, is at the present time a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Caribbean Studies, University of Warwick where she is completing a doctorate. Her current research interest is in the area of the management of change in universities. She has also been involved in the training programme organized by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) and the Commonwealth Secretariat for women in university administration.

Claudia Harvey, Trinidad and Tobago

Dr. Claudia Harvey is the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Women's Affairs in Trinidad and Tobago. Prior to this, she held the positions of Director of Training and the Director of Curriculum Development in the Ministry of Education. Her research, which has centred on Educational Administration, has included gender stereotyping in school textbooks and in adult and continuing education.

Sandra Featherman, USA

Sandra Featherman is Vice-Chancellor for Academic Administration at the University of Minnesota/Duluth. She holds a doctorate in City and Regional Planning from the University of Pennsylvania and her professional fields are Political Representation, Public Policy, Education and Politics of Ethnicity and Gender.

Dr. Featherman has spoken and written extensively about political and educational issues and is the recipient of many distinguished awards for her service to the community in these areas.

She was a speaker at the NGO Forum of the United Nations Decade for Women conference, Nairobi, Kenya 1985 and has taken part in numerous activities related to the status of women in higher education.

The Editors:

Hena Mukherjee, Malaysia

Hena Mukherjee, who holds a doctorate in Education from Harvard University, was an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, until joining the Education Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1987. There, she specialized in teacher training, skills development and women in higher education. In 1993, she moved to the World Bank where she is part of the Human Resources Group in the China and Mongolia Department.

Mary-Louise Kearney, New Zealand

Mary-Louise Kearney is with the Higher Education Division of UNESCO dealing with policy issues and inter-university cooperation. She has doctorates in Applied Linguistics and Lexicology from the Université de Paris III, Sorbonne and management training from the Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires (INSEAD). She has taught at the Université de Paris II and worked in the French business sector.

OVERVIEW

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

Elizabeth Dines

Introduction

This is a book about women in higher education management. It is not just a book about management, but a book written by managers. The writers of these essays are women who are vice-chancellors, presidents and senior managers of universities around the world[1]. Heavily outnumbered by male colleagues, they are members of a select group of women who have risen to positions of influence within systems which are best described as patriarchal.

The issue addressed is the continuing underrepresentation of women in higher education management. The data presented in these essays show that in spite of advances which women have made in many areas of public life in the past two decades, in the area of higher education management they are still a long way from participating on the same footing as men. With hardly an exception the global picture is one of men outnumbering women at about five to one at middle management level and at about twenty or more to one at senior management level. This is not only a feature of education systems in developing countries which are still close to their agrarian roots but also of higher education systems in North America and Europe. Women deans and professors are a minority group and women vice-chancellors and presidents are still a rarity.

The question before us is "Why should this be and what can be done about it?"

These essays provide an authentic response to that question. They give the personal perspectives of senior managers, who by virtue of their positions are well-placed to reflect on the role of women in higher education in their countries. These women are part of the systems and cultures they describe, not external observers. They are moreover, women who have succeeded in rising to the most senior positions in those systems, often against very great odds. Their perceptions of the barriers to the fuller participation of women in higher education management and the strategies they propose for improving this situation warrant attention. This book brings their insights to a wider audience.

---

[1] Countries and regions represented in this collection are West Africa, the Arab States, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, the South Pacific, Peru, the United States, the Caribbean, Finland and France.

Nevertheless, to present in one volume the collective experience and opinions of these significant senior women and to draw out the underlying general principles and themes is a daunting task. The countries and regions represented in the book present a mix of cultures, ethnicity and religious tradition and span the full scale of economic development. In some countries women's issues have been widely debated in the public arena for several decades. In others there is only now emerging a new consciousness of the full potential of women to contribute to society. To generalise is to run the risk of washing out the rich cultural diversity revealed in these pages. Yet the revelation has been to see recurring themes within that diversity which point beyond the cultural difference to universal dimensions of women's experience.

In this overview chapter I propose to explore four main themes:

- the limitations on women's access to schooling and higher education in many countries;
- the barriers to the full participation of women in higher education management;
- strategies for addressing these barriers at the systemic level and for changing cultural attitudes to create more supportive environments for women in higher education management;
- the special contribution of women managers and the opportunity cost of not releasing women's full potential as managers in higher education.

I. PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

"The position of women in higher education management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society, and from the general aims of economic and social development", writes Rafica Hammoud in the introduction to her chapter on the Arab Region. She is right, and so we take a step back from higher education management to consider the prior question of participation in formal education. For this is the seed bed from which higher education managers come.

Access to education is a telling indicator of women's status in a given society. Cultural perceptions of the roles which women are expected to fill are reflected in the extent to which women participate in formal education and the type of education to which they have access. In seeking to explain the under-representation of women in higher education management we turn first to consider the unequal participation of girls and women in education, to reflect on the reasons for this phenomenon and to highlight its adverse consequences.

Historically the global picture has been one of discrimination against girls and women in education for all but a favoured few. Several writers note that in ancient times access to education was restricted to the daughters of the ruling elites. For example, there were women scholars in India in vedic times and later in the royal households and scholarly Brahmin families (Chitnis). The select daughters of the Inca Empire were taught decorative and culinary arts for use in temple ceremonies or in the court (Zamora). Indonesia boasted several powerful queens in the fourth century and more recently women fought with men against the Dutch colonial forces (Setiadarma). But these are relatively isolated triumphs.

The majority of women in agrarian cultures were destined to hard physical labour, domination by patriarchal systems of family life and limited to mastering the nurturing arts and crafts necessary for the survival of the community and appropriate to their servant role.

Access to Schooling

During this century there has been a burgeoning of the education infrastructure in country after country as part of the process of modernisation. Globally the process of mass education is underway. The data show that primary level education is now widely available in all of the countries studied and opportunities for secondary and higher education are increasing.

However resource limitations pose constraints. Some countries which have legislated for compulsory primary education do not have the resources to implement the policy. For example, in Peru, primary education has been compulsory since 1905 and free since 1933. But lack of government resources as well as poverty amongst the rural and newly-settled urban populations have prevented compliance with these bold policies. In the Arab Region education is compulsory in all but eight states, but the legislation is not fully implemented and as a consequence about 60% of women are still illiterate. In most countries class sizes and lack of facilities are major causes of concern.

At the other end of the spectrum increasing numbers of students in North America and Europe are staying at school to complete their secondary education. This development has taken governments by surprise to some extent because it runs counter to the general demographic downturn in the school-leaver age-group in these countries. Increasing retention rates suggest that young people recognise that in the new technological era their job prospects will be bleak without some form of post-secondary education. The rising aspiration for further education is placing increasing pressure on governments to expand all forms of post-secondary education.

Although girls have benefitted from the expanded opportunities for education with participation rates rising more rapidly than for boys, the perception of equality is frequently illusory. Girls are still underrepresented, even at primary level in many countries, and illiteracy figures for women and girls are unacceptably high, particularly in rural areas of the developing countries and amongst newly-settled urban populations. In parts of Africa and India many women are still gravely marginalised and deprived of education. Even where girls attend school, their education may be prematurely curtailed. Or in developing and industrialised countries alike they may find themselves limited to traditional female subjects, which in turn lead them into traditional female professions.

The writers see the source of this discrimination in the persistent cultural values and attitudes of patriarchal, agrarian societies which define man as the primary significant figure and woman as the secondary support figure. Even where economic and technological development has progressed beyond the agrarian model, these attitudes persist, informing expectations and behaviours. It is this narrow definition of the female role which limits girls' access to education, causes early attrition and restricts them to traditional female areas of study. These general principles are reflected again and again throughout the book.

The primacy of the male is asserted whenever resources are scarce. Zamora notes that where a family cannot afford to educate all the children it is the girls who miss out. A girl's education is more likely to be delayed or interrupted by the need to help the family in farmwork or other economic activity. And a child may be capable of this at a very early age. For example, in an Indian village a girl of three may be a net contributor to the family income[2].

The significance of the male as the bearer of the family name is also a consideration when hard choices are to be made about who is educated, as is the expectation that the male rather than the female will be the breadwinner.

The role of the woman as childbearer is asserted whenever girls are denied education or withdrawn from education for early betrothal or marriage. Williams identifies the practice of early betrothal as a factor which either delays or terminates the education of girls in Nigeria. In Indonesia the drop in female participation after the elementary level is attributed to early marriage, especially in the villages (Setiadarma). In the South Pacific, even though there is legislation providing for both boys and girls to attend school, girls are underrepresented at secondary level, particularly in Melanesia. As in many other countries educating girls is seen as a poor investment when it is expected that they will marry and cease working to take on family responsibilities (Thaman and Pillay).

Cultural values and cultural stereotypes, which see women either as the archetypal seductress, or as vulnerable and in need of protection, or destined for a nurturing, domestic role are again in evidence in the restrictions placed on girls within formal education systems. In the Arab states cultural and religious mores lead to strict segregation of the sexes at school and at work, with girls taught in single sex schools by female staff and restricted to a curriculum which favours home economics over science and maths. This does not prepare girls for full and equal participation in the workforce and thereby limits their career horizons (Hammoud).

---

[2] Parikh, I. *Women Weavers*. Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, 1991.

In the South Pacific, high schools are generally co-educational but the curriculum is still differentiated with girls taking arts and home economics, and boys taking sciences, commerce and industrialised arts. Government scholarships for tertiary study abroad in the past channelled young men into prestige course overseas, chiefly in medicine, while higher performing young women were directed to less prestigious teacher education programs. While this policy is no longer in place, its ramifications are still evident in the clustering of professional women in the South Pacific into a relatively limited range of traditional female professions (Thaman and Pillay).

It is interesting that discrimination against girls is not confined to developing countries. Although the industrialised world has enjoyed widespread primary and relatively widespread secondary education during this century, there has not been equality of opportunity for girls. The same concerns exist in North America and Europe; namely, channelling of girls into traditional areas, underrepresentation in science and maths, stereotyping in terms of capabilities and future roles and unequal resource distribution (Featherman). It is frequently a source of surprise to women of Africa or the Pacific to discover that this is so. In spite of years of active promotion of equal opportunity policies by governments, women are still clustered in traditional female subject areas and professions and are under-represented in science and technology and in higher level research and study. Many countries have introduced equity programs in schools backed up by extensive training to stimulate a change in patterns of female participation.

Where girls have been successful in breaking out of the traditional mould to progress to higher education it has frequently been the economic incentive that has assisted them. This is interesting because as we have noted earlier it is the capacity to contribute to the family income which frequently forces girls in rural societies out of school. Thaman and Pillay note that the chances of professional women in their acquaintance were enhanced where they were the eldest of the family and expected in effect to take on the support role of an eldest son. Similarly, the economic imperative has broken down resistance to women entering the paid work-force in India (Chitnis).

Access to Higher Education

Following the trend at primary and secondary levels, opportunities for women to participate in higher education are increasing world-wide. The data in these essays are not presented in a form which allows a detailed comparative analysis but the following points are significant:

- In the Arab States enrolments of women in higher education have more than doubled between 1975 and 1988. Thirty-five percent of students are women, although these figures look more favourable than the situation warrants because many men study overseas. There is unequal distribution across disciplines with few women in non-traditional fields such as engineering. Many are in traditional professions which are considered to be an extension of the natural roles of wife and mother; i.e. teaching (which is particularly favoured because it offers gender segregation in the work place), nursing and clerical work. Hammoud comments that the region's human resource needs are not being met by its policies on admission to higher education.

- The higher education system in India is massive and structurally diverse with 4.3 million students in 196 university level institutions. At base a British colonial system, it has undergone a major expansion since independence, which has generally broadened access to education. Women's entry into higher education and employment came via the nurturing professions; nursing and teaching, towards the end of the last century, largely as a result of the efforts of social reformers to improve the lot of widows and other marginalised women. Gandhi affirmed the importance of education for women but this did little to change entrenched social attitudes. The barrier to education for women in India was the persistent belief that women should not deign to take paid employment although voluntary work was acceptable. The "bold exceptions" who pursued a profession for personal fulfilment usually did not marry. Economic factors in more recent times have broken down the resistance to women working to supplement family incomes and today women are well represented in many occupations. However access to higher education is often restricted for girls who live in rural areas or in towns without colleges or universities.

- In Indonesia there are more women than men in the nineteen to twenty-nine year-old age group yet there are more men than women in higher education. Only one in fifteen women in this group is in higher education. Participation rates for women are particularly low in science and technology. Setiadarma comments that this restricts work opportunities, limits the effectiveness of women as mothers and natural teachers of the next generation, and deprives the country of much needed expertise.

- At the University of the South Pacific girls are outnumbered three to one over all courses and four to one in degree programs. Thaman and Pillay comment that women are not encouraged to study at tertiary level because the family role is assumed to be paramount. Exceptions are where women are expected to contribute to the family economy. Until USP was established higher education could only be pursued overseas and many women therefore excluded because their parents did not have the necessary resources or the confidence to send their daughters overseas. Scholarship policy channelled women into teaching.

- The data on Peru provided by Zamora show both the demographic explosion in education since the forties and the pipeline effect of increased participation of girls in primary and secondary education flowing through into higher education one generation later. By 1981 approximately one million people (or 17% of the population) were enrolled in higher education. Women accounted for 42% of higher education enrolments, but many of these are private colleges which do not have university status.

- The United States appears at first glance to have achieved equal participation of women and men in higher education. Indeed since 1979 more women than men have been enrolled in college programs. In 1989-90 women were awarded 58% of all two year degrees and 53% of all bachelors and masters degrees. Yet women have done less well in professional courses and at doctoral level. Reasons given are similar to those which prevent full participation in other countries; the intervention of marriage and childbirth, the primacy of the husband's career, sexual harrassment and bias against women.

- In the Caribbean the proportion of female enrolments has increased from 32.9% in 1962/3 to 52.3% in 1985/6.

- In Finland about one third of students were women at the end of the thirties but progress was slow until the 1960's when the labour market demand for university trained people was growing. Expansion favoured women. By 1990 about one in ten of the twenty to twenty-nine age group was at university. Women have now gained the advantage with more than half of bachelor degrees and one third of postgraduate degrees being awarded to women. However as in other countries women tend to predominate in the social sciences and the humanities.

- A similar picture emerges in France where the university population has increased fivefold in the last thirty years. Fifteen percent of eighteen to twenty-five year olds are in higher education and half of these are women. This compares favourably with Germany where participation of women is about forty per cent. Men dominate technical courses which are most likely to lead to positions of power and high incomes. Women select literary courses and avoid scientific or technical subjects.

This overview of the participation of women in higher education shows that women are benefitting from the expansion of educational opportunity and in some countries, (the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, Finland and France) have equalled or overtaken men in terms of their proportion of gross enrolments. However there is nowhere equal and full participation. Cultural and economic barriers remain in most countries. Cultural attitudes, values and stereotypes disadvantage girls both in gaining access to formal education, and in enjoying the same range of educational opportunity offered to boys. At the level of higher education women in both industrialised and developing countries tend to cluster in areas of study which lead to traditional female careers.

The underrepresentation of women in the traditional male fields of mathematics, engineering and technology is widely held to be the result of gender stereotyping leading to lack of encouragement to girls wishing to enter these professions. In countries with well developed equity policies the response has been to put in place special support programs to provide role models, mentors and pastoral care. It is therefore disconcerting to find that in Finland and France, two countries which have removed the barriers to the participation of women in non-traditional areas, women are still significantly underrepresented. Stolte-Heiskanen interprets this as self-selection rather than conscious discrimination against women entering male-dominated professions. Gendreau-Massaloux also sees the avoidance of science and technology as self-selection, but as socially driven, rather than biologically; as women adapting to the likely career paths open to them.

The fact that women are continuing to express a preference for the social sciences and the humanities at the expense of science and technology in spite of the removal of any obvious impediments to their participation raises the possibility that we are dealing with a female gender characteristic rather than cultural stereotyping.

A current form of the nature-nurture debate asks whether there are gender-based differences in the brain which account for gender differences in cognitive behaviour. Kimura[3] argues that observed differences in selection of disciplines and professional occupations are consistent with evidence suggesting that men's and women's brains are organised very differently from the earliest stage of life and that the differences in development are directed by sex hormones. The evolutionary advantage she sees in these differences are related to the differential roles of men and women in hunter-gatherer societies.

If Kimura is right then we should not expect to see equal representation of men and women in certain professions which require highly developed skills and abilities which are sex-related. Green[4] has pointed out that where success in an activity depends on certain skills and abilities being highly developed so that only a relatively small proportion of the overall population will be well suited to it, quite small performance differences in the sub-populations will be magnified. As an indicative example, if carrying out the activity requires performance at a level equal to the top 1% of the better performing gender group, in a mixed group selected on the basis of equal access a difference of a mere half a standard deviation between the means of the two sub-population would translate into an expected ratio between the number drawn from the less performing group to the better of 1:4. In part this might explain the continuing male domination of the engineering profession and the strong female presence in nursing, for example.

Predictably Kimura has been challenged. The counterarguments that socio-cultural, political and economic factors account for the low participation rates of women in non-traditional areas of study cannot be discounted and it would be disastrous if our increasing understanding of biological determinants of behaviour became an excuse for reducing the effort to redress gender discrimination wherever it exists.

---

[3] Kimura, D. "Sex Differences in the Brain" in *The Scientific American*, September 1992, pp. 81-87.

[4] I owe this comment to private discussion with Prof. H. Green, Dean of Engineering, the University of Adelaide.

It is important for future planning to tease out the factors underlying the low participation rates of women in science and technology. A concern shared by several writers is that whether by choice or by design women are being excluded from the scientific and technically oriented professions. This can only be detrimental to their countries' further development. It is precisely these areas which are short staffed in both the developing and the industrialised world. The rapidly developing economies of Asia are investing massive funds in higher level training in the advanced technologies and in recruiting people with these skills. In Europe and in the United States governments are recognising that they can do no less if they are to remain internationally competitive.

Women offer immense potential to contribute to the skills base of their countries and in many places represent a sadly under-utilised resource. It may be that those governments who have been slow to respond to discrimination against women in education may be swayed by arguments which emphasise the benefits to the country as a whole in developing the human resource potential that women represent.

II. BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

What then is the position of women in higher education management? In the absence of comprehensive international statistics, and sometimes with only very limited national data, I have attempted to highlight some prevailing patterns.

In country after country we find that women hold less than fifty percent of academic and administrative posts in higher education institutions. They are best represented in lower level academic and middle management positions and their participation relative to men decreases at successively higher levels. Representation varies between about ten and twenty percent at middle management level and from nought to ten percent at senior management level. Representation in the committee system follows a similar pattern with women more likely to be members of departmental and faculty committees than on governing boards or councils. A consequence of this pattern of decreasing representation at successively higher levels is that senior women frequently find themselves isolated in hierarchies which are predominantly male.

What can be the reasons for the low numbers of women in higher education management? The study of administration is not generally regarded as a traditional male discipline in the way that science or engineering might be. Indeed one might think that the research and analytical skills developed through the study of the humanities and social sciences or the nurturing, interpersonal and intuitive skills with which women are supposedly endowed by nature, would be very much in tune with the strategic planning, policy making and staff management responsibilities of senior managers. There are increasing numbers of women in top positions in politics, and in both private and public sectors world-wide. Yet top management in higher education is overwhelmingly a male preserve.

There is a disconcerting uniformity in the factors considered by the writers of these essays to be barriers to the participation of women in higher education management. They are moreover by and large the very same factors which prevent the full and equal access of women to education. In essence they are derived from cultural perceptions of women's role which not only pervade higher education institutions at the systemic level, but inform the attitudes and behaviours of individual men and women. They are reinforced in the family and in the education system, in curricular materials, through the media and in the workplace.

The path to top management in a university is generally built on experience as head of department and dean. Factors which interrupt that natural progression for women are:

Limited Access to Higher Education

In the preceding section we saw how in spite of increased participation in higher education, women do not have the same access to higher education as men except in North America and Europe. Their underrepresentation amongst academic staff is consistent with this limited access. Zamora notes the need for a critical mass in higher education to provide the "quarry" from which higher education managers come. Several writers acknowledge that in their countries the necessary pool of talent is not yet there.

Discriminatory Appointment and Promotion Practices

It cannot be expected that numbers of women in senior management will increase while so few are employed in academic or administrative positions compared to men. Several writers note that in spite of the difficulties that women face in gaining access to education, there are women well-qualified for academic positions who nevertheless fail to be selected. To quote Zamora, "A man is preferred because he is a man." Discriminatory appointment and promotion practices constitute barriers in institutions without equal opportunity policies.

Dual Responsibilities of Traditional and Professional Roles

Where women have been successful in gaining academic or professional positions they frequently face cultural barriers in the form of their own internalised view of their roles and the expectations which others have of them. In case after case the difficulties are attributed to their dual responsibilities as wife/mother and professional woman. In some cases the traditional role is accepted without question and the professional role is secondary. Thus Chitnis notes that many academic women in India put family responsibilities first and are attracted to an academic career because of its status and convenience in accommodating school holidays. Similarly Omar states that women in Malaysian universities, who are quite well represented at middle management level, are less concerned about their poor promotional prospects than men because they consider their primary responsibilities to be to their families. Setiadarma advises professional women in Indonesia to remember their role as wife and mother comes first. However others acknowledge the conflict that exists. G.A. Williams notes, "It is hard and demanding work and virtually impossible for a woman with children." Parikh[5] has shown that professional women everywhere suffer great tension in their attempts to reconcile their professional and traditional roles.

Attitudes of the Spouse

For many women a professional career is dependent on the grace and favour of the spouse. Williams points out that it is virtually impossible for academic women in Nigeria to manage their dual roles without the support of the husband. Women in the Arab States and in India generally require the permission of the primary male to work. Residual indicators of traditional value systems are seen in industrialised countries. In North America and Europe, where there is an expectation that women will work, the husband's career is generally considered primary. Featherman notes that women still carry the burden of domestic responsibilities and plan their own careers around their husbands. My own experience is that this pattern is changing, albeit exceedingly slowly with more couples sharing domestic responsibilities and juggling careers with great ingenuity and frequently at great cost to personal relationships.

Career Interruptions

Women frequently progress haltingly in their careers because of breaks for child-bearing and child-rearing. Lack of adequate child-care facilities and absence of industrial rights to parental leave have been major barriers to career advancement for women in industrialised countries. These matters have been of less concern in the past in traditional societies where extended family networks and a supply of unskilled female labour have provided many options for child care. However technological change in these countries is drawing unskilled women into the paid work-force, thus creating new needs for the care of their children while simultaneously reducing their capacity to care for the children of the educated elite[6].

---

[5] Parikh, I. *A Report on Women Administrators: Administrative/Managerial Role Profile*. Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, 1989.

[6] Lefler, Harriet, P. in L.L. Adler, *Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Praeger, New York, 1991.

Difficulties in Pursuing Research and Gaining Tenure

Lack of a strong research record and lack of a tenured position are cited as factors which contribute to the clustering of female academic staff at the lower levels of the academic hierarchy. In countries and cultures as diverse as the Arab Region, West Africa, the South Pacific and the Caribbean, women have found it difficult to pursue higher degree study overseas. The situation is improving as universities in these countries increase their own research capacities and as affirmative action programs to assist women to undertake further study are put in place.

Women in North America and Europe have also not found it easy to establish research records which are competitive with men. Academic careers are built in the critical years after completion of the undergraduate degree. These are the years which for women are most likely to be interrupted by child-bearing and domestic responsibility. Many women try to cope with this by delaying child-bearing, which leads to interruptions later, or by studying part-time. Neither is an entirely satisfactory way of building a solid track record in research.

For professional administrators the path is different but no smoother. Many professional administrators find themselves in the ranks of middle management but do not advance to top management. They too suffer interruptions for childbearing and are subject first to the demands of the husband's career. However the burden of building up a record of scholarship and research is spared them. On the other hand top positions are less likely to be open to them because of the predilection of universities to draw candidates for these positions from the professoriate.

Stereotyping

Stereotyped notions about women constitute major barriers. Assertiveness is frequently interpreted as aggression. Women in some cultures find it difficult to exert authority over males. Women in advanced industrialised societies as well as those in the developing world still suffer from the myth that women are too emotional or too illogical for senior management, or best suited to the domestic maintenance aspects of administration. It does not make it any easier that women frequently share these stereotypes and accept uncritically roles which leave them marginalised and with limited career prospects.

Alienation from Male Culture

One of the barriers facing women is the fact that they are not men! They are not readily accepted into the informal networks which serve to bond males, and though they frequently have their own very effective community-based female networks these are not functional in advancing their professional careers. Women in some cultures find it difficult or impossible to socialise with males in a semi-formal work-related context. Women in all cultures are likely not to feel at home with male communication patterns and male humour.

Male Resistance to Women in Management Positions

An intractable problem for any group trying to effect a change in the distribution of power is that those in positions of influence are reluctant to cede their status to others. So women find that it is not good enough to be as good as men, but are pushed to establish their credibility by being better than men. This places women under great pressure to adopt the tactics of high-performing men in a competitive culture; ie to beat men at their own game.

Absence of Policies and Legislation to Ensure Participation of Women

Some of the writers recognise that the position of women has been enhanced in countries which have legislation and regulation in place to provide organisational support structures for women. Williams and Harvey cite amongst barriers to the advancement of women the absence of structures and policies to deal with discrimination or to support women in their multiple roles of wife/mother/professional woman.

The Glass Ceiling

Yet even where such policies and structures are in place women have not been entirely successful, as data from the United States, Finland and France show. One view is that the absence of women in top jobs is only a question of the time required for equal opportunity policies to take effect at lower levels before a cadre of suitable women develops. But as increasing numbers of competent women find themselves blocked at the second to top position, or in the top position in less prestigious institutions, there is a growing uneasiness that other factors are at play; that the glass ceiling is not so much a function of the relative recency of equal opportunity policies and practices, as it is an indication that at the highest levels these policies are honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Thus even where the merit principle guides the selection of the most junior staff the highest, most prestigious positions in the institution may be filled on the basis of "trust and rapport", patronage or cloning. Women miss out, not because they do not meet the overt criteria for the job, but because they do not meet, and often do not even recognise, the covert criteria, which drive the selection process. "We need someone to fit into the team", "It's a hard job", "We need someone who understands the culture", 'We cant take a risk with someone who has moved around a lot", "We need someone we know and can trust", "We must have someone totally committed to the job". All of these may be advanced as reasons for not appointing a woman to the top position.

III. STRATEGIES

What must be done to address the unfavourable odds stacked against women in their efforts to play a greater role in the management of higher education? Where are the role models? What are the strategies that will work. The beginnings of the answers lie here, in the experience of these women. Individually their stories are nothing less than heroic. Collectively they provide a portfolio of proposals for dealing with entrenched institutional practices and cultural attitudes which if not addressed will continue to stifle the realisation of women's full potential to contribute to the development not only of higher education but of their countries.

Broaden Access to Education

First there is a need to ensure full and equal access to schooling. Although arguably outside the bounds of this study, there is no dispute amongst the writers that higher levels of general education and universal literacy must be the *sine qua non* of educational policy in all countries. However policy alone, even backed by legislation, does not guarantee compulsory schooling. It is here that donor agencies have played a significant role in raising levels of literacy and education in the developing world, by making the granting of resources contingent on the adoption of equity principles in their distribution. This is a sensitive issue in that tied funding represents a new imperialism for the governments of aid-receiving countries. But the fact remains that women have benefitted from externally imposed equity measures.

The major impetus must come from within each country through programs which empower women to work within their own communities to change social attitudes and by providing through distance education the means for general education at the community level. An example of such a program is one now being put in place in Southern Africa[7]. Supported by external donor funding, groups of women will come together for a series of three day workshops over a twelve month period to learn from other women who have successfully developed community-based programs elsewhere and to plan their own pilot projects for implementation in their communities on a range of topics from crime prevention to small business management. Senior women in higher education in countries where women are marginalised can play a leadership role in the development of such programs, either through action research or as advisors to government.

Improving access to higher education requires the legislative back-up to support changes in cultural attitude. Formal requirements for gender balance in the provision of financial assistance and scholarships have proved effective in increasing the participation of women in higher education. The introduction of Women's Studies has been a positive stimulus to the advancement of women in countries as diverse as India, the Caribbean, the United States.

---

[7] Allen, K. "Proposal for Community Based Development Program for Women in South Africa". Personal Communication.

Review Appointment and Promotion Procedures

Sound personnel management policies are needed to increase the number of women employed as academics or administrators in higher education institutions. Frequently this is a contentious issue with those supporting women as well as those opposed arguing against the appointment of token women. But at the heart of the issue is the principle of merit. In country after country it has been shown that when traditional appointment and promotion practices are put under a microscope it becomes clear that women are being excluded for reasons that are peripheral and unrelated to their capacity to do the job. Again it has been shown that when formal procedures are introduced to ensure that irrelevant criteria are excluded from the process, women are much more likely to be selected for positions on merit. This is to the benefit of the organisation as much as to the woman concerned.

Provide Legislative and Infrastructure Support

Dealing with multiple roles admits no easy solution. Bacchi[8] points out that the question which western feminists have dodged is "Who will do the work not just the housework but who will maintain the home and family?" She does not provide an answer and neither do the writers of these essays. Indeed it is here that differences emerge most strongly. In one group are those who have sacrificed the role of wife and mother to the professional career. Another group struggles with competing tensions of home and career, giving priority to one over the other. And some try to do it all; to be the committed professional and the perfect wife and mother. This is the superwoman model of the 60's and 70's in the western world. Twenty years later we see that many who attempted this without the benefit of infrastructure support and in the face of extensive opposition from both institutions and families, found that something had to give; health, relationships or the job itself. Parikh[9] argues that the way to resolve the tension between personal and professional roles is for both roles to be accepted by the organisation and the family.

The provision of legislative and infra-structure support is a tangible expression of organisational recognition and undoubtedly can make a great difference to the capacity of women to manage multiple roles. Gwen Williams points to the importance of reasonable provisions for maternity leave, child care facilities and mobility allowances. Special bodies to deal with women's issues have also been effective in changing deep-seated cultural bias against women.

---

[8] Bacchi, C.L. *Same Difference: Feminism and Sexual Difference*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990.

[9] Parikh, I. *A Report on Women Administrators: Administrative/Managerial Role Profile*. Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, 1989.

Change the Rules, then the Attitudes

Some doubt that such policies can be introduced in the face of strong opposition and advocate first a change in attitude. Experience has shown that if we wait to change attitudes we may never get to changing the rules. If however we can only manage to change the rules, attitudes slowly swing into line. The effort required should not be underestimated, nevertheless. It is rather like a very large liner being pulled around by a very small tug. If the current against which the tug is working is too strong, the hawser will break and both the liner and the tug will come to grief.

Attitudinal change needs action on a broad front. Within the institution there is a need to develop policies on such matters as equal opportunity, sexual harrassment and the special occupational, health and safety needs of women. In the community at large sexism in the media needs to be addressed.

Provide Special Programs for Women

Several writers note the value of women forming networks to support each other and to identify role-models and mentors. Some argue that women need management training which is no different from men but others see that the attitudinal factors which limit women as well as the special forms of discrimination to which they are subjected, can best be addressed in special programs for women. Special training programs are needed to ensure that women are well equipped to handle technical aspects of the job. Special affirmative action programs to encourage women studying in non-traditional areas and research training have also proved effective.

Leadership training programs, special seminars and workshops are all offered as strategies for preparing women for top management. An important element of a special program is the opportunity it offers of a *metanoia*, a change of heart at the level of the unconscious. Only a deep-seated change at this level will have a lasting impact on the way in which women perceive themselves and give them confidence in their own capacity to be effective leaders. They have to feel like vice-chancellors if they are going to be vice-chancellors.

Institutional and Government Support

Any country serious about fully utilising all its human resource potential cannot leave the task to the very small number of women who are in leadership positions. This is rather like trying to effect major changes in social policy, such as anti-racism, through programs for schoolchildren. Special programs for women are necessary but they should be backed at government and institutional level by anti-discrimination legislation and regulation. Some aid agencies make aid funding for institutional development contingent upon such commitment.

Special bodies to deal with women's issues have also been effective in changing deep-seated cultural bias against women.

IV. A WOMAN'S WAY OF MANAGING

In concluding this opening chapter we consider the question of whether women have a distinctive contribution to make to management. Do these essays suggest that women have a different way of managing from men? This is an interesting issue for both management and feminism.

Much of the literature of western feminism revolves around two opposing concepts; the model which argues the sameness of women with men, and the model which assumes that women are equal to but different from men[10]. The writers of these essays shift uneasily between these two models, asserting their sameness with men in terms of their higher management skills and their desire for self-actualisation, yet claiming additional female qualities.

For example, Chitnis reflects the sameness model in that she does not acknowledge gender-based differences in management style. But she does see a distinctive role for women managers in fostering the development of other women. She sees great potential for women heads of women's colleges and universities to redress the bias against women in non-traditional professions and for them to empower their students by acquainting them with their social and political rights, to widen their horizons and to demonstrate the possibility of pursuing dual careers, to show that they can be successful as professionals in the service of society and as wives and mothers.

Chitnis herself is an outstanding example of the tendency of women to be motivated more by commitment to an underlying ideal than to pursue positional power and status. So in spite of her support for the androgenous model, she displays a management style which is very different from her male colleagues.

Other writers openly acknowledge the existence of female traits. For example, G.A. Williams' advice to the aspiring senior manager is to avoid emotional responses to crisis situations, to "express hostility tactfully" and to allow "judgement, initiative, perseverence, determination, integrity and foresight to rule and direct her." These, she sees as female rather than male qualities. But a woman must also master male qualities: to be clear headed, precise and firm in decision making as well as to be available, motherly and sympathetic. This dualism is not expected of men.

---

[10] Bacchi, C.L. *Same Difference: Feminism and Sexual Difference*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990.

There are many references to the special qualities of the woman manager in the area of intuitive judgement and interpersonal skills. Women are seen as more skilful in conflict resolution, more concerned with relationships than men and more supportive, caring and compassionate. Thaman and Pillay go furthest of all the writers in making a bold claim for the special contribution of women managers. They argue that universities cannot afford to ignore the strengths of female managers. Organisations need to be concerned about understanding relationships, and women are more likely to have these insights because it is the source of their moral strength. The ethics of caring, and the tie between responsibility and relationships must be recognised, they say, or aggression and violence will emerge.

There is support for Thaman and Pillay's position in recent management literature which points the way to a supportive management style, the essence of which is a careful systemic analysis of situations as opposed to a problem-oriented approach which seeks to apportion blame[11]. There is also a view that after more than a decade of ruthless restructuring and down-sizing organisations need managers who are healers, who can win hearts and minds to rebuild shattered work teams[12]. My own way of talking about this is to borrow a metaphor from ecology. We need a sustainable management if we are to combat many years of wringing the utmost out of organisations with ever-increasing demands for increased productivity in the face of ever decreasing resources. It is time to put something back into the soil in terms of better staff management practices. The qualities which characterise good women managers are precisely what is needed.

A problem with this position is that to advocate the particular nurturing quality of female management is to run the risk of supporting what Williams and Harvey call "the myth of domesticity". Many female academics have found that their superior skills in assisting students have tied them to lower level academic posts. Professional administrators have suffered similarly in having the routine maintenance tasks thrust upon them because they accept them conscientiously. In short, to advocate the special contribution of women to management in these terms alone is to lay women open to patronising recognition of their special qualities but is unlikely to enhance their advancement to top management.

The source of the problem lies in the relatively narrow and ambivalent interpretation of the feminine which is current in conservative institutions. Welch[13], seeking to explain the absence of women in leadership positions in another conservative institution, the Church, draws on Neumann's distinction between a conservative, *elementary* feminine, which gives birth, nourishes and surrounds, and a dynamic, *transforming* feminine, which drives towards motion and change. The elementary feminine nourishes, supports and asks only for loyalty. The transforming feminine demands relationship, risk and growth. The Church, argues Welch, has only been comfortable with the former and very wary of the latter. The same might be said of universities.

---

[11] Senge, P. M. *The Fifth Discipline: The Art & Practice of the Learning Organisation*. Currency Doubleday, New York, 1990.

[12] Killinger, B. *Workaholics: The Respectable Addicts*. Simon & Schuster, Sydney, 1991.

[13] Welch, *Spiritual Pilgrims*. Paulist/Ramsey, New York, 1982.

It is the transforming feminine which is revealed in the pages of this book, particularly in the voices of the women of the developing world, who have achieved success in the face of insurmountable barriers. These leading women are in no sense passive, supportive nurturers. They are risk-taking, growth-oriented agents of change and they see the future in the hands of women like themselves. Listen to what they have to say:

> "If in the past the Peruvian woman has played her role as woman and mother with dignity and devotion, tomorrow ... she will be capable of unsuspected and immeasurable contributions. Nothing and nobody will be able to stop her."

> "[Access to education] is achieved by women themselves who are awakened by outstanding women like Kartini, the symbol of Indonesian women's emancipation."

> "At every stage a woman is faced with feminine and biological problems which she must tackle with vigour to make it to the top... She has to work twice as hard and face stiffer opposition from her male counterparts."

> "[Women managers] have the opportunity to shape the future of several thousand women... This is indeed a very special opportunity."

This is the gift of this book. The dynamic, transforming women who have revealed themselves in these pages have much to offer. They offer to their universities a new model of leadership, to their countries they show a way of releasing the human resource potential which women represent and to women everywhere they offer a model of women as different from men yet equal partners with men in the task of building the future.

BAHRAIN

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT IN THE ARAB REGION

Rafica S. Hammoud

Introduction

To begin with, it would be useful to make several remarks as a framework:

The position of women in Higher Education Management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society, and from the general aims of economic and social development.

The status of women in the Arab Region has benefited from the international interest and activity related to women.

There is a great deal of diversity in the experiences of women in various Arab Sates, based on the socio-economic development of each country; and, within the same country, there are differences related to the socio-economic class to which a woman belongs, and whether she lives in an urban or rural area. However, there are important similarities between Arab States, and there are reasons for considering Arab women together:

- first, is the underlying influence of Islamic law which governs or at least affects the legal codes of personal status in different Arab countries;

- second, Arab societies share a common language, culture and traditions. From these, come the social expectations for women.

As the following study intends to deal with women in higher education management, it should start a general view about the status of women in the Arab Region, as well as of higher education in this region.

International Interest in Women's Status

Development, as a comprehensive process, requires the effective participation of all human resources. As women represent one half of the active population, they should be fully involved in this process on an equal basis with men. Human rights require that they participate on an equal footing with men in all spheres of the political, economic and social life of their countries, particularly in the decision-making process.

However, the status of women everywhere is inferior to that of men, so women became the focus of international programmes and conferences, to integrate them in the development process as equal partners with men. In 1972, the UN General Assembly proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year to be devoted to women's issues, to intensify action, to achieve equality for women and to ensure the full integration of women in the total development effort. In 1975, following the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico, the General Assembly proclaimed 1976-1985 as the UN Decade for Women. The attainment of the goals and objectives of the Decade requires a sharing of this responsibility by society as a whole, and requires that women play a central role as intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners, and as contributors to and beneficiaries of development. In 1980, the General Assembly stressed the importance of the participation of women in the development process and called for appropriate measures to be taken in order to bring about profound social and economic changes and to eliminate structural imbalances that perpetuated women's disadvantages in society. In 1985, at the Nairobi UN Conference, the "Forward-Looking" Strategies for the Advancement of Women during the Period 1986-2000 present measures to overcome obstacles for the advancement of women. UNESCO, at its 1989 General Conference and in its Medium-Term Plan 1990-1995, stresses these priorities: to improve women's status, to reduce illiteracy rates particularly among women, to raise girls' enrolment in schools and to increase women's participation in higher education as students and as academic or administrative staff.

So, what was the impact of the above on the status of Arab women?

Women's Status in the Arab Region

Major Achievements

The major implication of the UN Women Decade in the Arab Region was to heighten awareness of women's issues. Most Arab governments were publicly committed to integrating women into the development process. For this purpose, special administrative units and committees were established and plans were prepared. Many conferences and seminars were held and, in some areas, women have made advances. New opportunities have opened up and women have been allowed to take a more active role in the life of their society.

For instance, during the last two decades, there has been a marked improvement in the access of females to education at all levels. Their share in total enrolment increased from 37% in 1975 to 42% in 1988, with marked differences between the countries (e.g. around 1988, female enrolment was below 25% in Mauritania and above 50% in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and UAE). On the other hand, the illiteracy rates among women (15 years and over) in the Arab Region decreased from 85.6% in 1970 to 70.4% in 1985 and to 62% in 1990. It will drop to 49.4% in year 2000, again with marked differences between the various Arab States (e.g. in 1990 about 30.7% in Bahrain, 66.2% in Egypt, 88.3% in Sudan).

These increased educational opportunities, along with the socio-economic changes, and the overall process of modernization, helped Arab women to participate more in the productive sector of the labour force. In this respect, the Iraqi government, along with that of the former Yemen Democratic Republic, were perhaps the most determined to involve women in the non-traditional sector. In Iraq, the former male preserves of engineering and architecture have been invaded by women, and in some Arab States, a number of women have reached top positions such as minister, ministerial under-secretary and dean of a college in the university.

Major Problems

However, despite the progress during the previous decades, and despite the fact that rules guarantee equal rights to education and employment for both sexes, the actual situation of women is different from that of men, and many studies seem to share an explicit or implicit recognition that women in the Arab Region still face numerous problems and challenges and still occupy a secondary and inferior position to that of men. This inequality is found in the legal, social and political domains and has various impacts on the lives of women of different classes or educational backgrounds, and limits women's access to education and employment as well as to effective integration in the decision-making process.

In Education, for instance, a compulsory law has not yet been enacted in eight Arab States. In some other states, this law is not fully implemented. In 1988, approximately one quarter of Arab children between the ages of 6-11 did not attend school; the situation is worse for girls and women: their enrolment ratio is lower than that of boys; till 1988, the girls were still under-represented at all education levels and accounted for 43%, 41% and 35% of enrolment in the first, second and third levels respectively, with differences between countries. If the situation remains unchanged, one fifth of girls aged 6-11 will remain out of school by the year 2000. In addition, women's illiteracy rates in the Arab Region are significantly higher than those of men, and are still very high as was shown above (62% in 1990); and, if no serious effort is made to remedy the situation, about 50% of adult women will remain illiterate in the year 2000.

On the other hand, the fact that girls are allowed to enrol in school does not mean that equal educational opportunities are assured. In some countries, the school curricula are different for both sexes, and, as links between employment and education are decisive, these curricula do not attempt to prepare women for the same role as men. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, the girls are taught less maths and science than boys and are not allowed to participate in physical education classes. There is strict sexual segregation in classes at all levels, and all teachers for female students are women except for occasional male professors who lecture and answer questions via closed circuit television and telephone. Home Economics, in different countries, is offered only to girls. In higher education, even in cases where co-education has been established, girls and boys follow different courses within the colleges.

In addition, there is not enough emphasis on vocational training for women to produce the skilled manpower needed; and existing training focuses on traditional areas.

On the other hand, women's labour force participation rates are still very low: between 10-15% of the total labour force. They are recorded as among the lowest in the world (37.4% in USA, 43.6% in East Europe), and the ILO expects these rates to remain 11% in year 2000 with some differences between the Arab States. So, the advancement in education has not necessarily been accompanied by changing concepts related to alternative roles for women. Occupations and roles are not assigned to men and women on an equal basis, despite the fact that they are recognized as having similar rights and obligations. Thus, only a few Arab women have unusual careers, such as engineering; and many women still go into the "traditional" field of teaching which is seen as the natural extension of their roles as wives and mothers, with its possibility to ensure sex segregation. In addition, some take up nursing and clerical work.

In planning and decision-making positions, women are virtually unrepresented. There are a few in parliament or government in some Arab States, although there are thousands of highly educated women. Many women leave their jobs outside the home when they get married because of the lack of social facilities like kindergartens, suitable restaurants and transportation as well as a shortage of maternity leave. Furthermore, many employers tend not to employ women, as they believe women do not have the same skills, and they fear absenteeism. So, they discriminate against working mothers. In most cases, women cannot work outside without the permission of the males of their families (fathers, brothers or husbands, even sometimes sons...). In Saudi Arabia, women are rarely allowed to go out unless accompanied by their husbands, they are almost always heavily veiled and segregation is still a very real part of their lives. In addition, although the labour laws guarantee the same wages for the same work to both sexes, the application still contradicts the rules. So, wages for women are lower in many cases, especially in the private sectors. They benefit less from the training opportunities, and they are under-represented in the trade unions.

Higher Education in the Arab Region: Trends and Issues

During the last decades, higher education in the Arab Region accomplished a marked development, in order to meet the needs of the Region for qualified human resources in different fields of specialization. There are about 83 universities in the Arab States, including 23 established since 1980, conferring at least bachelor degrees or equivalent, (13 universities in Egypt, 8 in Saudi Arabia, 5 in each of

Libya, Algeria, Palestine, Iraq, Morocco and Lebanon, 4 in each of Syria and Jordan, 3 in Tunisia, 2 in each of Bahrain and Yemen, one in each of Oman, Qatar, UAE, Kuwait, Mauritania, Djibouti and Somalia) with almost two million students, about half a million of them doing postgraduate studies. In addition, there are many colleges and community colleges (2-3 years after the secondary level). Of course, there are marked differences between these institutions in the different Arab States, both in the diversity of specializations offered, and the number of students, depending on the development of each state, and the size of its population.

In this respect, the female gross enrolment ratio increased from 4% in 1975 to 9% in 1988. In Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain women students at this level outnumber the men. This is partially due to the high percentage of men who study outside the country, but also reflects real increased opportunities for women. In addition, efforts have been quite successful in opening up all fields of specialization, i.e. medicine, engineering, political science, law, agriculture, economics. Women's enrolment in these fields has more than doubled or tripled.

However, males and females are still differently distributed within the colleges and specializations. For instance, at the University of Bahrain, in 1988-89, females accounted for 83.2% of the total enrolment in the College of Education, 70.1% in the College of Arts and Sciences, but only 30.6% in the College of Engineering. In the College of Business Administration, detailed statistics show that females accounted for 64.4% of the total enrolment in secretarial studies, but only 18.5% in post-graduate studies. On the other hand, women still have fewer opportunities than men for scholarships abroad, and for post-graduate studies.

Moreover, Higher Education in the Arab States is still facing many problems. For example, fields of modern science and technology, like Integrated Sciences and Desert Studies are still lacking. The fields of Social and Human Sciences, which lead to a limited investment, are developing more rapidly than science and technology which are much needed by the region. In addition, the qualifications of the graduates do not meet the demands of the job market, and the universities give priority to the teaching process at the expense of research. So, the region lacks scientists, technocrats, researchers and pioneers of innovation. This means that the admission policy in the institutions of higher education in the Arab Region does not meet the requirements of the comprehensive development of society. This could lead to unemployment as well as to social troubles, consequently, minimizing the role of higher education in the development of the region.

A Field Study on Women in Higher Education Management in the Arab Region

Objective of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to examine the status of middle and top-level women managers in higher education institutions in the Arab Region, i.e. to determine the percentage of women in decision-making academic and administrative positions, to explore the perceptions, feelings and opinions of a sample of these women about their experiences in management, and to determine the problems they face.

Data Collection Instruments

Because of the lack of data on female administrators and helpful related studies, it was necessary to collect information directly from the field.

For this purpose, a table was prepared to gather general information about institutions concerned, (e.g. name, public, private, level of studies, sex of students and staff) as well as statistical data (i.e. number of males and females in each of the following categories: academic staff; directors of administrative units like student affairs, registration, personal affairs, library; chairpersons of academic departments; deans of colleges; vice-presidents and presidents; members of Board of Trustees).

In addition, a questionnaire was prepared to gather general information from a sample of women managers about their academic and professional qualifications; marital status; kind and level of higher education institution for which they work; as well as about their opinions and feelings concerning factors which helped their appointment as managers and their main administrative responsibilities. It also required information about the influence of their administrative responsibilities on their family lives and vice versa; acceptance by their parents and husband of their jobs; their participation in the decision-making process of the institutions; their experience in dealing with superiors and subordinates of each sex; their feelings about any discrimination between males and females occupying similar positions; their styles in decision-making process. Furthermore, some questions were concerned with their opinions about the opportunities for women in higher education management; obstacles which hinder their appointment in such posts; strategies and procedures which enable women to participate better in higher education management; their need for any training. Most of these questions were open. The questionnaire was written in Arabic, but respondents could answer in Arabic, French or English. The questionnaire was reviewed by two women chairpersons of academic departments to make sure that it covered the main areas of management and to check whether the questions were understandable.

Administration of the Instruments

The questionnaire was sent in March 1992 to university presidents, deans of colleges, chairpersons and colleagues working at Arab universities or colleges in 16 Arab States, to help in collecting the data needed. A covering letter indicated the objective of the study and the data needed.

Unfortunately, at the end of June 1992, data received was less than expected and some were incomplete. Some colleagues from Syria and Egypt affirmed that the statistical data needed was impossible to get and could only be given through official channels, so they sent only some completed questionnaires.*

Main Results

The information obtained from the respondents could be summed as follows:

Institutions Surveyed

General information and statistical data were received from 17 universities and colleges, all national public institutions, which belong to 9 Arab States, offering studies leading to bachelor degrees and above, (6 of them offering middle level studies as well); 8 institutions are open to both sexes; and in 9 institutions, male and female students are segregated with mixed academic and administrative staff, as shown in Table 1 (see Appendix).

Opportunities for Women in Academic and Managerial Posts

The results of the data presented in Table 1 show that women are under-represented in both academic and administrative posts at higher education institutions, particularly in top administrative positions. Indeed, in the institutions surveyed by this study, the women constitute 15.5% of the total academic staff, 16.7% of the total administrative directors (i.e. Student Affairs, Personnel Affairs, Administrative and Finance Affairs, English Center, Library), 16% of the total chairpersons of academic departments (mainly of education, nursing, physical education), 5% of the total number of Deans of Colleges (of Education and Physical Education only); while top level positions (President and Vice-President as well as Board of Trustees members) are almost 100% male. This means that Arab women's participation in higher education management has been minimal; they were found primarily in intermediate management level positions, while being non existent at top-level posts. So, their participation in the decision-making process is still low.

Characteristics of Female Respondents

The sample of this study consisted of 71 women in managerial positions in higher education institutions, who completed the questionnaire. They are from 10 Arab States, working at 20 higher education institutions, mostly for both sexes (see tables 2 and 5). Out of them 60.6% hold a doctoral degree, 15.5% hold master degrees, and 21.1% hold post-graduate diplomas or bachelor degrees, only two have secondary school certificates, one of whom is working as director of administrative affairs for already 33 years. The respondents lack managerial training as only 16.9% attended short training courses in administration mainly administrative directors (see table 3). The majority of the respondents were married (83.1%) with a small number of children or none (31% have none and 43.6% have one child or two) (see table 4). They are all working in national public institutions, 66.2% are working in institutions for both sexes, and 33.8% are working in institutions for female students with academic and administrative staff of both sexes. These women are mainly chairpersons of academic departments (53.5%) or directors of administrative units (36.6%) while only 9.9% of them are deans of education and physical education colleges (see table 5). The age of respondents when appointed was mostly above 30 years, and the majority have 2 years or more experience in the last managerial post, (e.g. 3 deans were previously chairpersons of academic departments and/or held other managerial posts; see table 6).

---

* Here I would like to thank all those in responsible positions and colleagues who were kindly willing to help me in collecting the statistical data, in distributing the questionnaires, or in completing them.

Opinions of Respondents about their management experience

Regarding the factors that contributed to their appointment to managerial posts, 93% of the sample said it was their academic qualifications, about 24% added previous experience and seniority in rank; 47% mentioned personal characteristics, e.g. being responsible, hard-working, conscientious, patient, precise, independent, committed individuals, known for their sustained performance, good communication skills. Few of the respondents mentioned family reasons, and two added the fact that they are qualified citizens. This means that the majority of respondents have a good self-image, and were probably chosen as managers for their outstanding academic and personal qualities.

The main administrative responsibilities held by respondents correspond to their respective positions, e.g. the deans supervise all academic and administrative matters in the college, participate in the decision-making process, write reports, chair college councils; the chairpersons prepare academic schedules, department budgets; the directors of students affairs supervise all matters related to student activities, health, and so on.

Regarding the effects of job responsibilities on their personal, family and social lives, the majority of respondents feel that they have sacrificed other areas of their lives to success in their jobs. Indeed, about 69% said that they do not have enough time for leisure and relaxation; 21% added that they feel job stress, fatigue and anxiety; 52% said that the job decreases the time allocated to the family; 49% said that it diminishes their social life; about 25% said their jobs have no effect on their personal and family life, and only two mentioned that their work has a positive effect on their family, e.g. children are made more aware of the women's role in society.

Regarding the effect of family responsibilities on their jobs about 70% said that these responsibilities have no influence at all; 21% said they have little effect; only two said that these effects are considerable and two said that they have positive effects.

In response to the question concerning their husband and parents acceptance of their jobs, about 80% said that they had full acceptance from their parents, 69% said they had full acceptance from their husbands; about 17% and 14% had partial acceptance from their parents and husbands respectively. No one worked against the will of their parents or husband.

With respect to their participation in the decision-making process, 72% of the respondents said they participate very effectively within the domain of their responsibilities and within the rules and regulations, while 13% said that they feel their participation is partial and 9% felt that it is limited.

On the other hand, 76% said that they use democratic methods in their decision-making process, i.e. discussing and sharing views with others, respecting the opinions of specialists; 25% said they study the issues carefully and apply the rules; while 10% said that sometimes they take firm individual decisions when needed, within the rules, and some mentioned being objective without rigidity.

Concerning their positive and negative feelings regarding their relationships with their male superiors, 92% said they have good relationships based on respect, cooperation, reciprocal confidence and understanding. However, 23% mentioned that the social relationships with male superiors are cold or revealing lack of confidence and negative attitudes towards women and their abilities; some men are reserved and feel uncomfortable while discussing issues with women; consequently cooperation with them is limited.

While dealing with female superiors, 65% of the respondents said that their relationships are based on respect, cooperation, friendships, understanding, confidence and frankness. However, some mentioned competition, jealousy, lack of objectivity... Only 10% said that there is no difference in the relationships with superiors due to sex, but to personal characteristics of the individuals.

Consequently, 72% of the respondents said they do not have any preference of working with male or female superiors; 15% said they prefer to work for men; 8% said they prefer to work for women.

Concerning the relationships with subordinates, 70% of the respondents said that they have good and positive relationships with male and female subordinates, who behave on the basis of respect, cooperation and understanding. However, 14% of them, mainly from the Arab Gulf Area, said that men are rather sensitive to having a woman as superior and do not trust her aptitudes even if she is much more qualified than them, and implicitly reject her leadership. 27% said that the relationships with female subordinates are rather negative due to competition, jealousy, lack of objectivity, interference of personal factors in the job, and 14% mentioned the problems due to women's family responsibilities. Only three of the respondents said that there are no differences in relationships due to sex, but to the personal characteristics of individuals. On the other hand, 75% said they do not have any preference to work with subordinates of a special sex, 11% said they prefer working with women; 6% prefer to work with men.

Concerning their feelings about any sex discrimination between them and their male colleagues in similar administrative positions, 94%, 85%, 77% and 79% of the respondents said that there is no discrimination in: salary, promotion opportunities, level of responsibility given to both sexes and the relationships with superiors due to sex, respectively. The ones who affirmed the existence of discrimination, said that some positions, like the posts of president and vice-presidents, are reserved for men (11%), that the women are given a leadership position only when necessary. So, in similar positions, men participate more in the decision-making process. As mentioned above, male superiors are sometimes reserved, inhibited and uncomfortable when they are dealing with women. They prefer to deal with men even if they are less qualified than their women colleagues. The men in responsible positions encourage other men and push them towards top-level positions as they believe that women are less capable, even if they are more qualified.

In response to the question whether they believe that there are any differences between men and women in management or decision-making styles, 65% of the respondents said no, and 35% said yes. The majority of the latter (32%) said that a woman is easier to deal with as she is more careful when taking decisions, more democratic, more sensitive to the understanding of issues, more objective, hard-working and more committed than a man. While two from the Arab Gulf Area argued that the communication skills of a man are different due to his social freedom, and that he is more courageous in the decision-making process. Only two said that the differences, if any, depend on the personal characteristics of the individuals. However, 100% of the respondents believe that a woman is able to participate as effectively as a man in the decision-making process, and in holding leadership responsibilities. Some added, however, that she would have to sacrifice more than a man because of her family duties. On the other hand, 58% of the respondents believe that women do not have equal opportunities to participate in higher education management; yet 42% believe that she has these opportunities... The obstacles which impede their participation and the strategies and procedures which could improve their status in this domain will be discussed later.

To identify the variables (personal, academic, family, social) which could help a woman to achieve success in higher education management, 92% of the respondents consider academic qualifications as the main variable; 32% added, as important variables, experience and continuous training; 63% believe in personal characteristic, i.e. interpersonal skills and good relationships with others, managerial skills, self-confidence, objectivity, commitment, patience, intelligence; 58% stressed the family relationships and less family responsibilities; 48% mentioned the extent of acceptance of women by society and the change in traditional attitudes and stereotypes regarding women.

In response to whether they feel they need training in any area to achieve better management in higher education, 66% of the respondents said yes, while 34% said no. The majority of the first group need training in: modern management techniques applied to higher education administration, the use of computers in administration and the skills needed for financial matters and planning the budget. In addition some respondents mentioned the importance of visiting other institutions to benefit from their experience; others mentioned the necessity of continuous training, or learning foreign languages.

Factors Impeding Women's Access to Higher Education Management

The factors which impede access to higher education management for women, as mentioned by the respondents, are the same factors which hinder the emancipation of Arab women in general, and explain her current status. They include a large number of social, economic, political and cultural factors, and have been identified in many studies.

Traditional Attitudes and Stereotypes

Among these factors to be considered, there are the deeply rooted traditional socio-cultural stereotypes and attitudes about the role of women and their abilities. Such attitudes portray woman primarily as wife and mother, being physiologically and intellectually inferior to men, naturally emotional and lacking in self-discipline. Therefore, they have to be protected by men (fathers, brothers or husbands). Accordingly, they are not fit for leadership and decision-making positions, as the Prophet allegedly said: "a nation will not prosper if it is ruled by a woman". So, activities are differently attributed to men and women, and there is deeply rooted resistance on the part of conservative elements of society to change this situation. Even some well-educated men do not want their wives to work and do not believe women should receive equal wages for doing the same jobs as men. Some people still believe a working woman is exposing herself unnecessarily to men and are afraid that she will ruin her reputation and disrupt the moral and social order. So, there is some insistance in certain Arab areas on the necessity of veiling and the segregation of the sexes, considering that "the veil protects women against external offenses of society and protects society against the inherent evil of women". Therefore, a woman will be allowed to work only if necessary and if the work will not affect her family role. Owing to this, families think that educating boys is more important and a more profitable investment. This situation gives women a smaller chance of getting higher qualifications than men, and makes men better prepared to climb the promotional ladder. Furthermore, it is feared that too much education will hinder the women's chances of a good marriage, as many men still believe that educated women make poor wives. In addition, employers regard women as unsuitable for productive work, arguing that their family responsibilities make them subject to absenteeism.

Economic Factors

Economic factors must also be taken into account. The slow growth in the economy will inevitably lead to negative implications for women; e.g. when high rates of male unemployment are registered in any Arab country, governments are unlikely to encourage increases in the female working population. So, unemployment would affect women more than men. They are more likely to lose their jobs and must wait longer than men to find new employment. This means that women will be employed only if family or socio-economic necessity demands it. Jordan makes an ideal case to illustrate this argument. As a country that exports labour, the development process has suffered in the early 1980s because of the loss of skilled manpower which went to work in the Gulf. To help fill the employment gaps, the government planned to integrate women into the workforce by training them in technical fields and began to examine amendments to the country's labour law to improve conditions for working mothers. Paradoxically, in 1985, in Jordan again, when migrant workers returned home from the Gulf, the country found itself facing a serious unemployment problem. So it was expected that the integration of women in the labour force would slow down, because they would not be given employment so long as men were available to fill the positions, especially since women are not required by the Islamic law (Shari'a) to financially support the family.

The same situation arose in Iraq in the 1980s. Because of the lack of male labour due to the war with Iran, the government made efforts to integrate women in the non-traditional sector and tried to change social attitudes. It is clear therefore that working women appear useful only as a reserve force which may be manipulated according to the economic needs of the country. However, it is not always the case in the Arab Gulf States. Despite women's educational achievements, and despite a great need for additional workers, the percentage of women as contributors to the labour force is still very low. In fact, to meet the national needs for workers, governments did not adopt a policy on women's participation, but preferred to import labour from neighbouring countries and from South East Asia. This solution was possible because family and national incomes were sufficient.

Political Situation

On the other hand, the political right to vote and to stand as candidates for election are still prohibited to women in some Arab countries, like Kuwait and Bahrain, although the constitution guarantees all citizens equal rights. The personal codes and family laws in most Arab countries continue to favour men. So, it is possible for an Arab woman to occupy a top job and yet not have equal rights with her husband when it comes to guardianship of their children. In some Arab countries, women are not allowed to occupy decision-making or diplomatic positions, nor to be the leader of the country. So, the general political climate of the society has a decisive impact upon the appointment practices of higher education administrators, particularly in the top positions, i.e. presidents, deans and members of Boards of Trustees.

Impact of Mass-Media and Literature

This situation is aggravated and fixed by textbooks, the mass-media and Arab literature, in which girls and women are generally portrayed in traditional roles as subordinates and even inferior creatures. They are treated as ignorant, emotional, unable to think rationally or to take decisions or initiatives without the help of men. They are considered the main purchaser of consumer goods (perfumes, cosmetics, clothes) instead of emphasizing their productive image and giving examples of successful women in different areas. This image influences both male and female attitudes and reaffirms their preconceived ideas.

Women's Self-Image

This inferior status of women becomes difficult to improve when women themselves are convinced of their limited potential and tend to follow traditional patterns and social expectations. Indeed, in their study in Cairo, Khattab and El-Daif found that 66% of girl students stated that women with children should discontinue work; 41% believed that teaching and social work are the most appropriate jobs for a women, and for the majority, employment is acceptable if there is a real economic necessity. Alkotob's study in the Arab Gulf countries found that female respondents generally agreed that the teaching profession is the most suitable profession for women because it does not require them to mix with men, that women should stop working when they have children, and that the husband's education should be higher than that of his wife. In her study at the University of Bahrain, Osseiran found that 50% of the female students believe that the husband should have the "last word", that women should obey him, whatsoever her education level; the female students of the College of Education said that women should work in the traditional professions only such as teaching and nursing.

Lack of Social Facilities

In addition to the above, working women face difficulties because of the lack of child-care facilities, at their work place or outside, particularly as the services offered by the extended family (grandmothers, aunts, etc.) is becoming less available.

Strategies and Measures to Increase Arab Women's Participation in Higher Education Management

According to some studies, there is no difference between leadership styles of men and women managers. Managers of both sexes exhibit similar types of task-oriented and people-oriented behaviour, as well as effectiveness. Also, women managers are at least as motivated as men. Women managers are more concerned with opportunities for growth, autonomy and challenge. Furthermore, it was considered that women have unique qualities, such as affiliation and attachment, cooperativeness, nurturance and emotionality, that makes them particularly well-suited as managers. Even though Arab women possess the required qualifications and qualities, they are far from having equal opportunities with men to participate in higher education management, especially in top-level positions.

So, in order to promote the increased participation of women in higher education management, specific policies and measures should be considered to overcome traditional stereotypes and preconceived social ideas about women, and to improve women's status in society as a whole, i.e. to change her subordinate position and make her fully equal to man without discrimination of any kind. In this respect, social, economic, political and legal changes are needed.

The strategies and procedures proposed by the respondents of this study, together with recommendations proposed by many other studies can be summarized as follows:

> One major strategy needed is a political decision to alter the current unequal conditions and structures that continue to define women as secondary persons and to intensify efforts to achieve equity in the appointment, election and promotion of women to high posts in different areas, thus ensuring their participation in the decision-making and policy-making processes. In this respect, legislative action is to be taken to guarantee equal rights for both sexes in legal and political spheres. Civil codes, particularly those pertaining to family law, should be revised to eliminate discriminatory practices and to grant married women equal rights and duties. In addition, as women are under-represented at top-level positions, a compensatory measure could be taken to assign a certain percentage of the managerial posts to women and to ensure that such positions are accessible to them.

As stereotypes and traditional attitudes towards women are among the main obstacles that impede their access to higher education management, intensified efforts are needed to modify these attitudes, to promote social awareness of women's legal rights to study, work, and to participate in all aspects of development at all levels. Hence, a career should be approached according to the individual's aptitudes and qualifications and not on the basis of gender, especially as some women have already achieved success in many areas. This will require, in addition to legislation, the education of the population at large through formal and informal channels with the participation of different cultural, social, and business organizations. In this respect, special efforts are needed to change women's negative self-image, to provide them with knowledge about their rights and their real role in the comprehensive development of the society, and to convince them that they are fully capable of carrying out any task. The examples of women who have succeeded in positions traditionally reserved for men should be stressed. On the other hand, concerted action should be directed towards the establishment of a system of sharing parental responsibilities by women and men in the family.

As education is the basis for the improvement of women's status, and since links between employment and education are decisive, a law requiring compulsory education should be enacted in those Arab States where it does not exist. Also, in all Arab countries, it should be obligatory that all girls attend school. In addition, women should be provided with equal opportunities in education and training and free access to all educational types and levels in order to facilitate their equal representation at higher managerial and professional levels. Curricula should include studies on women's issues and their contribution to all aspects of development. They should also enable men to assume as much responsibility as women in the up-bringing of children and the maintenance of the household (UN, 1985). Meanwhile, special measures should be adopted to increase women's access to scientific, technical, vocational and managerial subjects at all levels, in order to develop their skills and extend their opportunities for employment in occupations that are non-traditional. Scholarships abroad should be allocated on the basis of merit and not gender to enable girls to have an equal chance. Textbooks and other teaching materials should be evaluated in order to eliminate all discriminatory gender stereotypes that hold girls back in situations determined by traditions.

As training for administrative careers is needed in the Arab countries and their higher education institutions, adapted training courses and workshops should be designed and implemented to upgrade women's (and men's) knowledge and skills in management, in order to strengthen their competence in leadership positions.

Furthermore, priority should be given to the elimination of the high rates of illiteracy in the Arab world, particularly among women, as a primary solution to the various problems they face.

In view of the critical role of the mass-media in forming attitudes, special attention should be given to campaigns for different social groups (students, parents, workers, decision-makers, employers, etc.) to eliminate sexist stereotypes and preconceived ideas. This could modify the mentality of the entire population. Priority must be given to eliminate discriminatory and degrading images of women in all mass-media materials and to develop an alternative image that portrays the positive aspects of women's roles in all activities. In this respect, women should participate effectively in policy-making, decision-making and programme design in the mass media field.

As social and economic development requires the participation of women as equal partners with men in all fields of work, equal access to all positions of employment, including decision-making positions and occupations regarded as male preserves, should be ensured. Theprincipal criteria should be the educational background and skills of individuals and not their sex. This can help to break down occupational barriers but would need a re-examination of the working conditions of women to improve work schedules, task distribution and maternity leave, according to family responsibilities.

Special attention should be given to the provision of a social infrastructure that will enable women to go out to work, i.e. kindergartens, nurseries, day-care centers employing trained personnel, restaurants and suitable transportation.

Appropriate specialized bodies, e.g. ministries, which deal exclusively with women's issues, should be established with sufficient resources and authority to ensure the full integration of women in the development process. Governments should also stimulate the work of women's organizations by giving financial and organizational support to their activities, and encouraging them to conduct studies and coordinate action undertaken at the national and regional levels.

In order to formulate new policies on the status of women and carry out strategies and measures to end sex discrimination, Arab countries have a great need for data and research, This can identify the obstacles and inequalities that hinder women's emancipation and provide concrete evidence concerning the harmful consequences of unequal laws and practices. In this respect, further research should be undertaken to determine women's self-image, to study subordinates' reactions towards male and female managers, (particularly the male attitude towards a woman being their superior), and to compare managerial skills and career commitment by men and women in higher education institutions.

Finally, regional, sub-regional and international coordination should be strengthened and extended, particularly in relation to the exchange of information on the advancement of women and on programmes and activities designed for them.

Table 1

Distribution on the basis of sex in academic and administrative posts in some institutions of higher education in the Arab Region for 1991-1992

Country	NAME OF INSTITUTIONS	Institution's Characteristics									NUMBERS																	
		Kind		Affiliation		Level		Sex of Participants			Academic Staff		Adm. Directors		Acad. Chair-persons		Deans		Vice-Presidents		Presidents		Members College Councils		Members Univ. Councils		Members Trustees	
		Public	Private	National	Foreign	B.A. at-least	Less Than B.A.	F.Stud &Staff	F.ST.& mixed Staff	Both sexes	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
BAH	University of BAH	x		x		x	x			x	226	32	7	1	18	2	4	1	1	-	1	-	50	5	7	1	12	-
	Col. of Health Sc.	x		x		x	x			x	28	65	3	2	4	12	1	-	1	-	-	-	11	15	-	-	-	-
EGY	Col. of Phy. ED (1)	x		x		x			x		12	145	8	14	-	6	-	-(1)	-	-	-	-	2	20	-	-	-	-
	Univ. of Alexandria (2)	x		x		x				x	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	28	1	-	-
JOR	Jordanian Univ.	x		x		x				x	764	129	5	-	58	6	11	2	3	-	1	-	176	15	35	3	-	-
	Yarmouk Univ.	x		x		x				x	604	71	16	1	31	3	6	-	2	-	1	-	78	4	24	-	-	-
KUW	Basic Ed. Colleges (3)	x		x		x			x	(3)	666	198	17	1	44	15	5	-	3	-	1	-	14	12	15	-	-	-
MOR	Univ. of Mohammad The Fifth	x		x		x				x	6433	1369	64	6	37	6	8	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
QAT	University of Qatar	x		x		x				(4)	376	185	19	-	34	5	7	-	1	-	1	-	50	7	16	-	12	-
SYR	Al-Baath Univ.-Homs	x		x		x				x	220	20	11	5	25	1	7	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	14	-	-	-
UAE	Univ. of UAE (5)	x		x		x				(4)	562	37	17	4	51	2	8	-	4	-	1	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
YEM	Yemen University	x		x		x				x	-	-	3	-	12	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	17	2	-	-	-	-
	Total No										9891	2251	170	34	314	60	76	4	32	0	10	0	458	80	139	5	24	0
	Total %										81.5	18.5	83.3	16.7	84	16	95	5	100	0	100	0	85.1	14.9	96.5	3.5	100	0

(1) College of Physical Education, University of Alexandria: for female students only with mixed staff; male academic staff teaching theoretical courses only. The dean is a woman counted within the deans of the University of Alexandria.

(2) Partial data given by the Dean of College of Physical Education.

(3) These data related to six basic Education Colleges: 3 for female students with mixed staff and 3 for male students.

(4) Male and female students are studying in separate buildings with the same academic and administrative staff.

(5) United Arab Emirates.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 2

Distribution of Respondents by Country and Number of Institutions

Country	No. of Resp.	No. of Instit.
Bahrain	11	2
Egypt	20	6
Jordan	4	2
Kuwait	8	2
Morocco	4	1
Oman	3	1
Yemen	4	1
Qatar	5	1
Syria	8	3
UAE	4	1
Total	71	20

Table 3

Distribution of Respondents by Academic Qualifications and Administrative Training

Educational Qualifications							Administrative Training		
Degree	Ph.D	Master	P.G. Diploma	B.A.	Secondary	Total	Yes	No.	Total
No.	43	11	4	11	2	71	12	59	71
%	60.6	15.5	5.6	15.5	2.8	100	16.9	83.1	100

Table 4

Distribution of Respondents by Family Status

Status	Single	Married	Divorced or Widowed	Total	No. of Children					
					None	1	2	3	4-6	Total
No.	7	59	5	71	22	8	23	10	8	71
%	9.9	83.1	7	100	31	11.3	32.3	14.1	11.3	100

Table 5

Distribution of Respondents by Kind of Institutions and Positions they Occupy

	Kind of Institutions			Positions					
	For both Sexes	For Female Students	Total	Admin. Directors	Acad. Chairpersons	Deans	Vice Presid. or Presid.	Board of Trustees Members	Total
No.	47	24	71	26	38	7	0	0	71
%	66.2	33.8	100	36.6	53.5	9.9	0	0	100

Table 6

Distribution of Respondents by Age When Appointed at Last Managerial Post and Years of Experience in this Post

Age							Years of Experience					
Less 25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-45	45 +	Total	1	2	3	4	5 +	Total
2	9	17	10	9	24	71	7	11	10	11	32	71

Bibliography

1. References in Arabic:

Bahlawan, S. *The Arab Women and Education*, paper presented at the Regional Seminar on Population and the Arab Woman, UNESCO-UNEDBAS, Amman, 27-31 October 1991.

ESCWA. *The Image of the Arab Woman as Presented in the Mass-Media and the Arts: Issues and Trends*, Series of Studies on the Arab Woman and Development (12), U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, Baghdad, 1984.

Hammoud, R. *Status of Woman and Population Education in Bahrain*, paper presented at the Regional Seminar on Population Education and the Arab Woman, UNESCO-UNEDBAS, Amman, 27-31 October 1991.

Osseiran, N. *The Image of Woman in Bahrain Society: A Study about Female Students' Attitudes at the University of Bahrain*, paper presented at the Fifth Regional Conference for Woman of the Arabic Gulf and the Arabic Peninsula, Bahrain, 18-21 March, 1989.

Sara, N. *Arab Education since 1950: Achievements, Problems, Challenges*, Arab Thought Forum, Amman, April 1990.

Sarakibi, M. *The Arab Woman and Employment*, UNESCO-UNEDBAS, Studies and Documents, No. 34, April 1989.

Slim, M. *Population Education and the Arab Woman (Education, Information, Labour, Mental Health)*, working paper presented at the Regional Seminar on Population Education and the Arab Woman, UNESCO-UNEDBAS, Amman, 27-31 October, 1991.

2. References in English:

Allaghi F, and Almana, A. "Research on Women in the Arab Gulf Region", in *Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World*, UNESCO, Paris, 1984, PP. 14-40.

Begarra, R. *Promotion of Girls' and Women's Access to Technical and Vocational Education: Examples of Action*, UNESCO, November, 1986.

Hijab, N. *Womanpower. The Arab Debate on Women at Work*, Cambridge Middle East Library, 1989.

Hussain, F., ed. *Muslim Women*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1984.

Ingrams, D. *The Awakened: Woman in Iraq*, London, Third World Centre for Research and Publishing, 1983.

Khattab, H.A.S. and El-Daif, S.G. "Female Education in Egypt...", in *Muslim Women*, F. Hussain (ed.), St. Martin's Press, New York, 1984, pp. 167-197.

Makhlouf, C. *Changing Veils, Women and Modernization in North Yemen*, Croom Helm, London, 1979.

Powell, G.N. "One More Time: Do Female and Male Managers Differ?" in *The Executive*, Academy of Management, London, August 1990, Vol. 4, No. 3, PP. 68-75.

UNITED NATIONS. *The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, Nairobi, Kenya, 15-26 July 1985.

UNESCO. *Half of the World*. UNESCO Activities for the Advancement of Women, Paris, 1980.

UNESCO. *Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World*, Paris, 1984.

UNESCO. *Development of Education in the Arab States: A statistical Review and Projections*, Paris, June 1991.

UNESCO. *Universalization of Education and Improvement of Its Quality and Relevance to Prepare for the 21st Century*, Paris, October, 1991.

UNESCO. *World Education Report 1991*, Paris 1991.

FINLAND

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT IN FINLAND

Veronica Stolte-Heiskanen

Introduction

The position attained by women in higher education management is influenced by a number of factors. Of greatest importance is the existence of a pool of formally qualified women, the socio-cultural and psychological barriers preventing women from pursuing academic careers and assuming managerial roles, and the attitudes of the higher education system, especially the academic community, toward women's access to such positions in higher education institutions. The current role played by women in Finnish higher education management is reviewed here in the light of these factors. My assessment is partly based on my some thirty years' experience as a member of the academic community and as a scientist engaged in research on the role and position of women in science. This is augmented by available information from statistical sources and results of research conducted in this field.

Trends in Higher Education

Finnish society has always placed a high social value on education in general and higher education in particular. The expansion of education played an important role in the conscious modernization of the country after World War II. While the general educational level of the population rose throughout the whole century, the increase has been especially rapid during the last decades, leading to an ever-growing number of university enrolments. By 1990 there were almost 114,000 university students, representing about ten per cent of the total population in the 20-29 age group.

Women's entry into the academic world can be said to have begun towards the end of the last century, when the first woman was admitted with special dispensation in 1870 to the country's then only university. Eight years later, the first woman graduated from the medical faculty. After 1885 dispensations became so frequent that, by the time women were granted equal rights to higher education in 1901, the proportion of women students was already 14 per cent. By the beginning of the 1930's, about one third of the students were women. The share of women doctorates remained low (two to three per cent), reaching about ten per cent by the end of the 1930's. Because of the strong competition for scarce resources during the depression and war years, no substantial inroads were made by women up until the 1960's, when the need for university trained manpower was growing on the labour market.

The expansion of the higher education system during the last decades especially favoured women to the extent that today they have already gained an advantage over men. At the beginning of this decade, more than half of the basic university degrees were granted to women. Although advances in post-graduate studies have not been equally dramatic, today women take about one-third of the post-graduate degrees awarded yearly.

Despite the exceptionally high rate of women's participation in higher education, their selective distribution according to field of studies does not very much differ from other Western European countries. In the process of modernization, there were conscious attempts to redistribute the flow of students to different fields in accordance with the new demands for scientific manpower. Consequently, by 1980, there was a substantial increase of students in the natural, technical and medical sciences. The redistribution process, coupled with the rising movement for women's equality led to some shifting away of women from the more "soft sciences" toward traditionally "masculine" fields. For example between 1975 and 1989, women among PhD recipients in the Natural Sciences increased from 19 per cent to 37 per cent and in Medicine from 12 per cent to 37 per cent. Engineering and Technical Sciences nevertheless continue to remain a strongly male dominion. At the end of the last decade, 28 per cent of all the male, as opposed to 7 per cent of all the female, postgraduate degree recipients were from Engineering and Technology.

Even in the Natural Sciences the high proportion of women is misleading. Here the percentage of women in different disciplines varies greatly. By and large, this follows the internationally observed sequence: Biology, Chemistry and Biochemistry. The increases have been mostly due to the growth in the traditional female dominated field of Pharmacology and, to a certain extent, Biology. The share of women in the male dominated fields of Computer Sciences and Physics has even slightly decreased. Within the Engineering faculties, the highest concentrations of women are in Architecture, where they comprise about 40 per cent of the students.

The scarcity of women among Natural and Technical Science students in some fields seems to be more the result of self-selection than conscious discrimination by the higher education system. There is hardly any difference in the percentage of women participating in the entrance examinations and that of those accepted for enrolment to the different faculties.

Gender differences in scientific orientations are evident already on the secondary school level. Even at the end of the last decade, boys chose the advanced Mathematics alternative twice as often as girls. One out of every five girls, but every other boy, chose advanced Physics in their high school curriculum. Thus, by the time they reach the university, orientation to science and technology becomes one of the most distinguishing gender-linked factors determining educational choice.

The Role of the Universities and the Academic Market

In Finland the universities have traditionally played an important role in the cultural, intellectual and scientific leadership of the country. In the institutional hierarchy of the scientific community, they constitute the core of the scholarly field and the most prestigious centres of scientific expertise. University teachers, especially professors, enjoy a high social status and, among scientists in most fields, an academic career is the preferred alternative on the scientific labour market.

In the course of the structural transformation of Finnish society, the higher education system was modernized and expanded. By the beginning of the 1970s, a network of 17 higher educational institutions was created, the expansion taking place exclusively on a regional basis. There are ten universities that have several faculties, three universities of Engineering and Technology, three schools of Economics and Business Administration, and a college of Veterinary Medicine. Most of the country's basic research is carried out at the universities and about 40 per cent of all our professionally active scientists are working at some higher education institution.

In the beginning of this decade, there were altogether about 6000 regular, full-time academic teaching posts in the country. All universities are autonomous public institutions under the administrative jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Their main source of financial support comes from the state, which allocates funds through the annual state budget approved by the parliament. As everywhere, in Finland too, in recent years higher education institutions are experiencing cutbacks in government financial support and the share of extramural funding has been steadily increasing during the past years. In Finland everyone is entitled to free higher education. Thus there are not even minimal enrolment fees to constitute an additional financial resource for the universities.

The growing emphasis on the research functions of the universities coupled with the tightening of resources have lead to the universities' increasing concern with efficiency and accountability. In light of these trends, management in higher education has gained a particularly important role.

Finland is characterized by a low rate of horizontal mobility across different sectors of knowledge production. Academics, especially on the higher level of the hierarchy, rarely leave the universities for other jobs, and ideally, the junior and middle level faculty will eventually move up the ladder within the university system.

All teaching posts are filled through open competition. Only professors and associate professors, as well as the relatively small number of so-called lecturers, enjoy lifetime appointments. Other teaching positions are filled for up to five year periods at a time. Higher level administrators are also appointed permanently and, as a rule, they are recruited from the ranks of the universities' own administrative staff.

Since academic posts and salaries are uniform across all universities and are tied to fixed civil service scales, there are no specific incentives for moving from one university to another, unless it implies an appointment to a higher position. On the other hand, being a part of the civil service system makes gender discrimination, at least in terms of salary differentials, virtually impossible.

The Position of Women in Higher Education Institutions

Women became eligible to be university teachers in 1916. Because of the relative scarcity of formally qualified women, the share of women teachers for a long time remained low, reaching 16 per cent in the beginning of the 1970's.

The first woman obtained a doctorate in 1895. Thirty-two years later, in 1927, the first woman was appointed to a professorship (in History) at the then relatively new, small university of Finland's Swedish-speaking minority. While the share of women in all doctorates reached about 10 per cent in 1940, the rise in women professors was slow, reaching 2.5 per cent of all professorships in 1964. With some minor fluctuations it remained on that level up until the end of the 1960's.

During the expanding phase of the university system (1954-1975) there was a substantial growth in new academic posts. By the beginning of the 1970's the number of professorships more than tripled. There was also a considerable increase in the number of middle and lower level posts. The growing demand for new professors encouraged the capacities of the universities to produce doctorates. During the growth phase, about one half of the doctorates found employment in tenured university posts, primarily as professors or associate professors. This was the time when women had the best opportunities to fill open vacancies: the proportion of women among newly appointed professors reached an all time high of 12 per cent at the end of the 1970s.

The expansive phase came to a halt in the mid-1980s, after which there was a steady decline in the creation of new posts. The number of new PhDs, however, continued to grow from year to year, while the available new posts were simultaneously declining. In the 1960's, an applicant for a professorship competed at best with one other candidate. By the beginning of the 1980's for each newly recruited professor, there were ten new PhDs as potential candidates. Since, in many fields, e.g. social and natural sciences, alternative career opportunities are very limited, PhDs are increasingly competing with the ever growing formally qualified cadre of potential candidates for lower level academic posts.

Increased competition and greater scarcity of jobs have especially affected women's hopes for an academic career. At the same time the ranks of qualified women were steadily growing. For example, the number of women obtaining their PhD almost doubled during the last decade, while the corresponding increase among men was only 29 per cent.

Despite recent set-backs, the proportion of women among the university teaching staff has doubled during the past two decades. Today women comprise about one-third of all university teachers in the country. However, as in practically all spheres of social life, the higher up the ladder of the academic hierarchy, the fewer the women. In 1991, the proportion of women in different teaching positions was as follows:

	Per cent Women
Professor	10
Associate professor	19
Senior assistant professor	26
Junior assistant professor	38
Lecturer	46

As could be expected on the basis of the uneven distribution of women graduates among different scientific fields, women are most heavily concentrated in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Agricultural Sciences. The especially heavy growth of academic posts in the Technical and Natural Science faculties was not accompanied by a corresponding growth in the share of women candidates. The most notable improvement in the access of women to senior academic positions occurred in the Medical Sciences.

Traditionally women have been the most numerous among the specialized lecturers. Because of the exceptionally heavy teaching load and limited research possibilities associated with this position, it does not rank high on the job preferences of aspiring academic scientists.

While women continue to be under-represented at all levels of the academic hierarchy, this is especially the case at the most junior level of assistant professors. The first significant step toward embarking on an academic career is to secure a position, such as a junior assistant professorship, which guarantees financial security to pursue postgraduate studies on the one hand, and entry into the academic community on the other. It also provides an early opportunity to gain some experience in university administrative skills.

Faculty and research assistants are expected to complete their post-graduate work, if not during the first term, at least during their subsequent terms of appointment. Reappointment in principle is dependent on the progress of graduate studies. After obtaining the PhD, the junior faculty is expected to move up to higher level academic positions or seek employment outside the university. Practically all of the professors have held junior or middle level faculty posts sometime prior to their professorial appointment.

Since getting a junior academic position is virtually a prerequisite for future career advancement, the proportionately greatest gender imbalance on this level, as noted above, has important implications for the subsequent differences in the career opportunities of men and women.

There is no exact information about the number of women working in the administrative structures of higher education institutions. In the public sector in general, more than two thirds of the economically active population engaged in community, social and personal services, including public administration, education and research, are women. In higher education institutions too, the overwhelming majority of secretarial, clerical, and supporting service jobs (e.g. librarians, student counsellors), as well as lower and middle level administrative positions, are held by women. Thus, unlike in the case of the academic staff, within the university bureaucracy, women are well provided with opportunities to gain administrative and managerial experience. These can be often augmented by various further specialized personnel training schemes supported by the universities.

Women in Higher Education Management

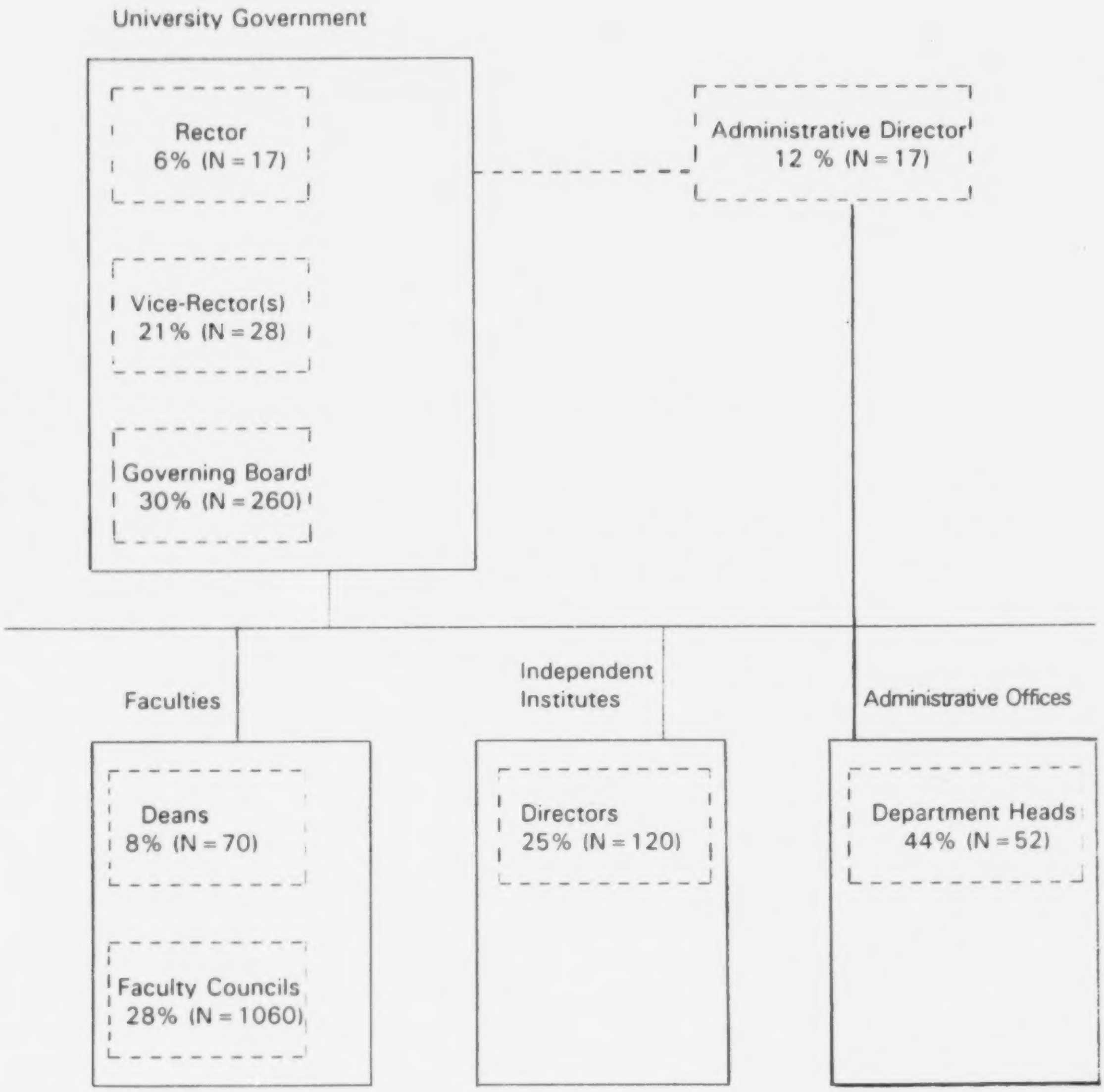
The management and administration of Finnish higher education institutions is characterized by a bipartite organizational structure: the elective bodies representing the university community on the one hand, and the appointed administrative bureaucracy, on the other. In principle all academic and policy decision-making functions are relegated to a hierarchical system of administrative boards and councils, usually corresponding to the overall university, faculty and department levels of responsibility. Generally they are composed of a fixed quota of representatives of three sectors of the university community: 1) ordinary and associate professors, 2) other academic and administrative university personnel, and 3) undergraduate students. Council or board members are elected usually for a period of three years by their respective "constituencies". Leadership in these governing organs, i.e. faculty deans and department heads, is elected by the respective councils. The only important exception is the highest governing organ, the "university government", which is headed by the Rector, and automatically includes the Vice Rector(s) as voting members. The Rector and the Vice Rector(s) are elected by separate, varying types of "electoral colleges", which are also constituted on the basis of the above-mentioned tripartite representation.

Parallel to this "academic power structure" is the administrative managerial hierarchy, whose function is essentially planning and implementation of the decisions of the different councils, as well as the day-to-day management of the administrative infrastructure of the university. The administrative director as well as upper level administrative management positions (e.g. Registrar, Bursar, etc.) are filled through open competition, as are all civil service jobs in the country.

In addition, on the borderline between these two sectors are the directors of the various service and research institutes ranging from the university library and computer centres to specialized research institutes (e.g. in the social sciences) and experimental stations.

Although there is some variation among the seventeen higher education institutions here discussed, the typical organizational structure of higher education institution management and the current position of women in it can be summarized by the following diagram. The current percentage of women in any given managerial category is shown, followed by the total number individuals in the specific category (indicated in parentheses by "N").

The current overall participation of women in the administration and management of Finnish higher education institutions:


University Government
Rector
6% (N=17)
Vice-Rector(s)
21% (N=28)
Governing Board
30% (N=260)
Administrative Director
12 % (N=17)
Faculties
Independent
Institutes
Administrative Offices
Deans
8% (N=70)
Faculty Councils
28% (N=1060)
Directors
25% (N=120)
Department Heads
44% (N=52)

Several conclusions can be drawn from this summary description of the relative share of women in different types of managerial and administrative positions. Within the university hierarchy both in terms of internal and external affairs of the university, the most visible, prestigious and influential position is that of the rector. Only ordinary professors are eligible for rectorship, while also associate professors qualify as vice rectors. So far, only one woman in Finnish academic history has succeeded to reach the status of university rector. This historic event occurred only in the beginning of this year at a provincial university in the northern part of the country.

With rare exceptions, faculty deans are also ordinary professors. Taking into account the small number of women among full professors, they are only slightly underrepresented among deans. At present only six higher education institutions have at the most one faculty with a woman as dean. Usually these are in the humanities or social science faculties.

The proportion of women in the faculty councils and governing boards varies little from one higher education institution to another. Not surprisingly, the only notable exception is that the proportion of women does not reach more than 13 per cent in the governing boards of any of the three universities of engineering and technology. At a first glance in general, the proportion of women in these elective bodies seems to almost exactly correspond to the share of women among all university teachers. However, keeping in mind that these bodies also include representatives of other, non-academic personnel and students - both groups characterized by a female majority - women's participation on these managerial levels is clearly less than could be expected on the basis of their qualified numbers.

The formal academic qualification for directors of the independent research and service institutes is usually a PhD. Such women are also somewhat underrepresented in these positions. The presence of female institute directors also varies considerably from one higher education institution to another. This, however is to large extent due to differences in the types of independent institutes maintained by the universities rather than to local variations in the attitudes toward women as managers. Women directors everywhere tend to be concentrated in the more typically "feminine" areas of e.g. language centres, libraries, educational extension centres. They are least likely to head e.g. computer centres, research laboratories or experimental stations, which operate in fields where the number of qualified women is relatively small.

Within the academic power structure, women seem to fare the best as vice rectors, where at present they are actually slightly overrepresented. This is a rather new phenomenon on the academic scene. Even today women as vice rectors are most commonly found at the smaller, provincial universities or specialized higher education institutions. I, myself, was the first vice rector to be elected to one of the three largest universities in the country. This, too, occurred 65 years after the founding of our university.

Differences in the presence of academic women in different managerial positions suggest that their possibilities to attain such status is to a great extent influenced by two, sometimes competing, interests. In the world of academe, disciplinary interests and loyalties play an important role in the competition for resources and power. Thus, for such representative governing organs as the governing boards and faculty councils, disciplinary representation plays a primary role, frequently overriding gender considerations. As such, the relatively low proportion of qualified women in many academic fields inevitably leads to their overall underrepresentation in these bodies. This also explains why women are beginning to make better headway as vice rectors, where "disciplinary quotas" play a much lesser role. This affords a much greater opportunity for concerted efforts to get a woman elected, per se, to this leading position. My own experience as well as that of many of my colleagues suggests that the election of women to vice rectorships has been to a great extent due to the active lobbying of women and students - the other marginal members of the university power structure. The fact that, unlike the case of the men, women vice rectors and others in higher managerial positions are expected to also actively promote the interests of their gender reflects the continued existence of gender inequalities in the academic community.

In addition to the academic managerial positions within the universities, there are several governmental organs more or less directly responsible for policy formulation and resource allocation, directly affecting the higher education institutions. Thus, in Finland, the Science and Technology Policy Council, which is responsible for policy formulation on the highest governmental level, has two women out of the 16 members. Of the total number of 60 members of the five sub-committees of the Council of Higher Education appointed by the Ministry of Education, women constitute 27 per cent.

The Academy of Finland is the main body responsible for the implementation of science policy and allocation of research funds in the public sector. It is the main supporter of basic research at the universities and also grants temporary research appointments to some 500 scientists. As a rule they are situated at higher education institutions. Membership of the seven research councils, representing the major scientific field divisions responsible for the allocation of funds and appointments, also signifies an important status from the point of view of the universities. The majority of the appointed members are in fact drawn from the senior academic community. At present 22 per cent of the total number of 114 members of the research councils are women. Again, the proportion of women varies greatly from one field to another. At the one end of the scale, women comprise 7 per cent of the members of the Research Council for the Natural Sciences, at the other 29 per cent of the Research Council for the Humanities. Moreover, only two of the research councils are chaired by a woman.

Although there is still much room for improvement, compared to other sectors of knowledge production, higher education institutions have shown a considerably more liberal attitude toward women. For example, at least at the end of the last decade, some 14 per cent of the scientific department heads of our some twenty state research institutes were women although none was a director.

Similarly the chances of women attaining managerial positions in the administrative bureaucracy of higher education institutions are better than elsewhere in the public sector. The fact that almost one half of the department heads and two of the administrative directors are women compares most favourably with the overall situation in the public sector, where, at present, about one quarter of the senior officials and upper management are women.

On the basis of the above, one can conclude that at present the likelihood of a woman achieving a managerial position at a higher education institution is greater in the administrative than in the academic structure. Several reasons could account for this discrepancy. First, among academics, there is a lack of qualified women - especially on higher levels - in several academic disciplines, many of which constitute important segments of the universities' teaching and research staff. This is not the case in administration where there is a large pool of qualified women and, in many fields, they even outnumber the men. Secondly, according to the traditional university ideology, academic positions are more highly valued than the relative newcomers on the academic scene, the professional administrators. It is a well known fact that the greater the social value attached to a position the lesser the chances of women's success in attaining it. Thirdly, administrative appointments are more strictly governed by formal criteria of experience and qualifications. On the other hand, election to "academic" managerial positions is considerably influenced by such less tangible criteria as the visibility and recognition achieved by the potential candidate. In this respect, for a variety of reasons, women often are at a disadvantage.

Current Problems and Future Perspectives

As in the other Nordic countries, Finnish women have achieved in general a relatively high degree of equality. Their economic, social, political and educational participation is one of the highest in the Western industrialized countries. Thus also the status of women in managerial and administrative positions in higher education institutions compares favourably with most countries. Nevertheless, as the foregoing review has shown there is still much room for improvement. These improvements will have to take place on a number of different levels.

Obviously the first significant step on the road to an academic career involves decisions concerning educational choice. Gender differences emerge already at this stage. Studies of university students have shown that women are less certain than men of their career choice, and they become even more uncertain as they advance in their studies. While both men and women consider, next to security, creativity as the most important factor in career selection, women rate scientific abilities of considerably lesser importance than do men. Students' self-perceptions about their professional abilities combined with the climate of the faculty lead to tendencies to make choices that conform to traditional academic and professional images. For women, this means that they are channelled into typically female fields as well as other solutions conforming to feminist motivational stereotypes. There is also evidence that men considerably more often receive encouragement from their parents to choose a scientific career than do women. Thus a greater proportion of women choose fields of studies that lead immediately after graduation to occupations other than the academic professions.

As a first step in the socialization process begins in the home and culminates on the level of the university, much more attention needs to be paid to encouraging women to adopt career choices typically thought of as the exclusive domain of men.

Retrospective studies comparing the career patterns of Finnish academic men and women found no significant differences in their social class or regional origins, marital status, or the university from which they had graduated. The only systematic difference to emerge is that at each stage of their career, women are older than men. The age difference is negligible in the beginning. However, by the time women obtain their first post-graduate degree (*Licentiate*), the difference is about two years, and by the time of getting the PhD, it is over three years. As such, it is not surprising that even in the 1970's when opportunities for women were the best, at the time of their professorial appointment women were four years older than men.

Thus the apparent major differences between the academic career patterns of men and women are that women advance at a slower rate and are considerably more likely to fall out at each step on the way to the top of the academic hierarchy. One of the most commonly advanced explanations for these patterns is that the demands of an academic career are incompatible with the socially valued roles of wife and mother. In Finland this thesis does not find direct support.

Unlike many Western countries, in Finland the majority of both academic women and men are married. The majority have children at the time they receive their doctorate and no relationship has been found between childbearing and getting postgraduate degrees. This is not to say that marriage and a family does not constitute a greater liability for women than men. The greatest pressure for achievement and embarking on an academic career coincides with the establishment of a home and the family: between the ages of 25 and 35. This probably at least partly explains why women are older than men at each step of the conventional career pattern. The resulting age difference in turn may be one of the contributing factors to women's lesser academic career chances.

Working women with young children, especially in positions of managerial responsibility, also face problems of keeping long and irregular working hours. Women still primarily bear the burden of household and childrearing tasks among university professionals, too. Thus, unlike their male colleagues, women have to cope with a double work load. Nevertheless Finnish women rarely regard their own marriage and professional career as incompatible. Nevertheless, among academics - especially women - the belief is widespread that the main reason why there are few women in academic professions is because "marriage and family prevent women from concentrating on their research work". Thus it seems that it is the belief in what has been called the "myth of role incompatibility" rather than the actual everyday reality that creates problems.

While social and cultural factors undoubtedly play an important role in the relatively slow (although not insignificant) advances made by women toward equal participation in positions of responsibility in Finnish higher education institutions, not all the blame can be put on society or culture at large. As everywhere, in Finland, too, the academic community as such is highly resistant to change.

Science is sometimes defined as a way of seeing things. Women still far too often constitute a "blind spot" in the vision of the scientific community. In the eyes of many male academics, their female colleagues are still perceived as "fit to make the coffee and settle interpersonal conflicts but their research does not merit interest". Several studies confirm that women scientists often remain "invisible" to their male colleagues, their merits are easily degraded and they are often left outside the informal social and communication networks that play a vital role in the life of the community.

The existence of homosocial mechanisms reproducing the dominant male culture of the academic community noted in previous studies is also evident in Finland. In a sample of junior academics, the majority of both men and women discuss frequently work-related topics with colleagues of the same sex. However, almost half of the women but less than a third of the men have frequent work-related discussions with colleagues of the opposite sex.

Assumed and real differences in the roles assigned to women in academe easily lead to their perception by their male colleagues in terms of stereotyped categories and to the lack of recognition of their work. Thus their competence and achievements remain invisible outside the subdominant culture of their fellow women. Undoubtedly, both informal and formal measures will still have to be taken to change the deeply imbedded attitudes of the predominantly male academic community.

An Act on Equality, adopted by Parliament, came into effect in 1987, which aims at preventing gender discrimination and at promoting equality between women and men. Special emphasis is given to the improvement of the position of women in working life. An Equality Board and an Equality Ombudsman were appointed to supervise compliance with the Equality Act.

In 1990, a directive issued by the Equality Ombudsman requested all higher education institutions to prepare a plan for the promotion of greater gender equality in their teaching, research and other spheres of activity. A number of higher education institutions have already drawn up such plans, others are in the process of preparing their "Promotion of Equality" programs. The Ministry of Education has also issued a set of guidelines for operative equality promotion plans for 1991-1993. Although it is too early to fully evaluate the effects of these formal measures there are some scattered signs of their positive impact on influencing attitudes.

It has also been suggested that the masculine image of science leads to women's weak scientific orientation, on the one hand, and to a lack of self-confidence in one's scientific potential, on the other. Women scholars' lack of self-confidence is evident from a variety of studies. For example, women rate their theoretical abilities lower than their male colleagues. Women themselves more often than men attribute women's lower status in the scientific and academic hierarchy to the lack of encouragement and self-confidence.

The sheer quantitative growth of women in academic positions, the establishment of support networks among university women and the increasing number of women who can serve as role models will undoubtedly raise women's self conceptions and confidence in their own abilities. This in turn will lead to an increasing number of women expressing an interest and willingness to serve in managerial positions of responsibility.

Conclusion

Obviously Finnish women have made less progress in access to scientific careers than might have been expected on the basis of the outstanding advances made in their educational qualifications. Undoubtedly, there is still much room - especially on the top - for further improvements.

Contrary to common expectations, substantial gains in women's access to higher education did not lead to better academic career opportunities for women. An academic career still ranks high in the scale of values of Finnish society. Generally it holds a promise, if not of wealth, at least of considerable prestige and access to at least limited arenas of power. On the other hand, in a small country an ever expanding cadre of potential candidates compete on an institutionally restricted academic market characterized by low intra-institutional upward mobility. At the same time, for many of those wishing to pursue a scientific career, alternative employment opportunities are very limited or almost nonexistent.

In the competition for desirable but scarce resources, given a male dominant societal power structure, women are clearly in a disadvantaged position. Consequently, both qualitatively and quantitatively, women in academe still hold, to a great extent, a marginal status. The cumulative effect of this is that they tend to be less productive and gain less recognition. This in turn affects women's chances of achieving managerial positions and thus limits their access to the social and political power necessary to bring about the changes leading to more equitable career opportunities.

It is impossible to predict how this vicious circle can be broken. Within the foreseeable future the prospects for further expansion of the university system look rather dim. On the contrary, European universities are increasingly faced with further cutbacks. Past experience has shown that women are more likely to suffer from the negative consequences of decreased resources. Moreover, it is also difficult to predict what consequences the foreseen free movement of academic labour from one country to another within the European community will have for women. On the one hand, the widening of the horizons of the academic market may bring better career opportunities for women. On the other hand, it may further reduce their chances of competing with a larger pool of men for the very limited possibilities available on our national level. Thus the fate of further advances in the status of women in managerial and administrative positions in higher education institutions - as in other spheres of society - will to a large extent depend on broader structural, institutional and cultural changes.

FRANCE

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN FRANCE

Michèle Gendreau-Massaloux
with the co-operation of
Marie Françoise Fave-Bonnet[1]

May I begin by recalling three events which marked my own career.

The first occurred in 1968. After studying at the Ecole Normale Supérieure for girls in Sèvres, I headed the list of successful candidates for the Agrégation in Spanish and was granted an extra year for a research project. Of the three posts as university assistants which were then offered to me, I chose Paris. My first year was rich in events and ended with the students' movement which created turmoil in the streets, the government and the whole country. My first memory is of one of those agitated, and sometimes confused, meetings at Censier where the astonished "mandarins" confronted the leaders of our revolutionary youth. My age - I was less than twenty-five at the time - and my associations with the rebellious students tended to place me in the camp of the opposition. At the same time, my professional status put me on the other side. I have little time for hierarchies which allow teaching staff to take all the important decisions on their own, my view being that it is legitimate, indeed necessary, for management of the university to be shared. But I still considered it absurd to pretend to approve the student revolt right down the line and enter into alliances which were as ephemeral as they were demagogic and included a good measure of self-interested familiarity with the "insurgents". And so, during the meeting to which I am referring, I had great difficulty not only in making my voice heard - my timidity and small stature played their part in that - but even in finding my place and defining my own positions in the debate, and in gaining the backing of allied or closely related points of view or, at the very least, of different but comprehending opinions: I found myself sidelined - as was often to be the case later on - representing nothing in particular, forgotten rather than excluded, and I cannot help thinking that this had something to do with my sex which made me work hard and fast to take on the competition, and with my position which did not fit in with any of the accepted standards.

---

[1] We wish to thank Mrs C. BERG and Mrs L. GRUNBERG (CEPES/UNESCO, Romania), Mrs H. DELAVAULT (AFDU, France), Mr J.M. LECLERCQ (IGEN, France), Mrs H. LEMAIRE (REEF, Netherlands), Mrs M. SUTHERLAND (University of Leeds, United Kingdom) and Mrs C. SCHUHL for her documentary assistance.

My second memory dates from a few later when I had become a lecturer at Limoges University; the event took place in a prefabricated building where the managing board of this young institution held its meetings. By now I had acquired greater experience, but no more weight and I represented a department, Language and Literature, which was the poor relation in a university that was more traditionally oriented towards Law and Medicine. The young President tried to establish a degree of cohesion, and even solidarity, between the projects of the different faculties, but the unity for which he stood seemed fragile and often artificial.

As the debate progressed, the idea of a "promotional" event was floated and, in a short speech, I tried to involve the new professionally-oriented courses which were then being set up in this project: many companies in the Limoges area were associated with the training courses and might take part in the suggested university event. The audience listened to my suggestion but nobody seemed interested, until it was put forward again an hour later after other - male - speakers representing the older faculties had taken it up again. They presented it as their own idea, discussed the matter and finally adopted the proposal. Did the fact that I was a woman have anything to do with this turn of events? I believe it did.

My third memory is of an event at which this time I was a mere spectator. A few years later, I found myself in the lecture hall of a university in the Paris suburbs. In the meantime I had become Vice-President of Limoges University and the President, who was detained in Limoges, had asked me to stand in for him at the conference of University Presidents which meets at regular intervals. My first surprise, and a bad one, at this large gathering was to find just one other woman present. My second, pleasant surprise was to see this woman, who was destined to become Rector of the Paris Academy before me, going up to the speaker's rostrum to ask, in an eloquent gesture, the Presidents to approve a motion supporting one of their colleagues who had been "detained" by students in his office on the top floor of the tower building in which his university was accommodated. No doubt this was a natural gesture. But it still had to be made - and it was a woman who took the initiative.

Today, over ten years later, the number of women who are Presidents of universities or rectors of academies remains as small as ever.[2] And as to their influence...

These events may be mere details, but they do have general implications: my three memories will help us to analyze the role of women in the administration of higher education. But first, we must set the scene.

---

[2] The first of them, Alice Saunier-Seïté, nevertheless pursued a brilliant career and made a strong impact.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN FRANCE: A FEW POINTS OF REFERENCE

1) The first important factor is that higher education in France consists of two distinct sectors, one "open" and the other "closed." The "open" sector is represented by the university to which the only statutory criterion for admission is possession of the baccalaureate. On the other hand the elite establishments, the "grandes écoles" and the preparatory classes which lead up to them, the IUTs (University Institutes of Technology), the STS (Higher Technicians' Sections) and also the paramedical and social schools, belong to the "closed" sector: admission here is selective and based either on paper qualifications or on an entrance examination.[3] This second sector is highly diversified and fragmented, to such an extent that no comprehensive survey has ever been made of its teaching staff. Our analysis will therefore be confined to the university which is attended by nearly 70% of all post-baccalaureate students.[4]

2) The growth of higher education in France has been spectacular: today, over 15% of the 18 to 25 age group are following a course of higher education, against 5% twenty years ago. This is the result of a policy of extending schooling beyond the age of 16 with the specific objective of bringing "80% of an age class to baccalaureate level in the year 2000." Over 52% of all young people reached this level in 1990, as compared with only 44.3% in 1987. This increase in the number of high school pupils has repercussions on higher education where the growth of the student population has become increasingly marked in recent years. "In the space of thirty years, the university population has increased fivefold and that of the higher technicians sections twentyfold, while the number of students attending preparatory classes and engineering schools has only risen by a factor of 2.7."[5] The university has absorbed the bulk of this democratization of higher education, but it has had to do so with structures inherited from the 19th century and more suitable for "elite" teaching than for "mass" education. For example, the student-teacher ratio in French universities is one of the highest in Europe: in the first cycle of higher education, i.e. the first two years at university (involving over half the total number of students), the number of students per teacher is 25, against 21 in Spain, 15 in the Federal Republic of Germany (in 1987), 10 in Great Britain and 8 to 9 in Sweden.[6] However, the situation varies enormously from one discipline to another in France: the student-teacher ratio is 9 in the scientific disciplines, 13 to 14 in the health sector, 28 in Letters and 45 in Law. Another

---

[3] DURAND-PRINBORGNE (C.): "Le système éducatif", *Les cahiers français*, N° 249, January-February 1991, La Documentation Française.

[4] Out of the total student population of 1,700,000 in 1991, 1,182,000 were attending universities. Source: "L'Education Nationale en chiffres", DEP/MEN.

[5] LAMOURE-RONTOPOULOU (J.): "L'Université 1968-1988: une institution en mutation", *Revue française de pédagogie*, N° 91, April-June 1990, INRP.

[6] JALLADE (J.-P.): *L'enseignement supérieur en Europe: vers une évaluation comparée des premiers cycles*, La Documentation Française, 1991, page 102.

significant point: the percentage of women teachers is unfortunately smaller in the disciplines where the student-teacher ratio is the most favourable (scientific subjects and Medicine).

3) Many other aspects of the situation of higher education might be discussed in greater depth here: the development of short cycles (IUT, IUP etc...) which reflects a policy of earlier professional specialization and a desire to adapt education to the needs of the employment market, or decentralization which gives the universities greater autonomy...However, I shall concentrate on just two aspects which are of direct relevance to this study.

4) Girls have undoubtedly benefited from the increase in the student population: "with women students numbering 50%, French higher education is incomparably more feminized than its German counterpart (39% women), but the degree of feminization is uneven; the first university cycles have a higher intake of women than the IUTs (University Institutes of Technology) or the STS (Higher Technicians' Sections)[7]. This "victory" in fact appears less convincing when we look at the various branches of higher education in more detail: "the supremacy of women in terms of access rates in the richest countries has not put an end to the hegemony of men who dominate the technical courses which are the most likely to lead on to positions of power and high incomes. In relative terms, the gap seems even to be widening: in most European countries, a sharp distinction is growing between the engineering courses and higher education which leads on to teaching occupations and to the health professions".[8]

Girls tend to throng the literary courses and avoid scientific or technical subjects. In reality, all the doors are open to girls: "the education of girls cannot be seen as a major determinant of the division of labour (and of all the differences on the employment market) which is observed today; the causal relationship tends to work in the other direction, i.e. girls adapt their investment in education to their own expectations of professional life".[9] We shall have occasion to see that this observation relating to the courses followed by female students is mirrored by the situation of women teaching staff in higher education.

5) One last aspect of the workings of the university must be clarified if we are to understand the situation of women, namely the importance of research for career development. Teaching-research staff in French universities have to take on three separate roles: teaching, pursuing their research and administration. But these three tasks are not treated equally: teaching-research staff are recruited to a teaching post, but on the strength of research criteria. Hence their entire career (recruitment and promotion) is determined by their research output and their

---

[7] JALLADE (J.-P.), *op.cit.*, page 85.

[8] BAUDELOT (C.), ESTABLET (R.): *Allez les filles!*, Seuil, 1992, page 67.

[9] DURU-BELLAT (M): *L'école des filles: quelles formations pour quels rôles sociaux?*, L'Harmattan, 1990, pages 146 to 155.

teaching and adminis-trative duties carry little weight. The simultaneous pursuit of these three tasks is a well-nigh impossible challenge, and teaching-research staff are sometimes obliged to make a choice. The situation in this respect also differs widely from one discipline to another: in the scientific disciplines, the competition is such that it is often hard to maintain a high standard of research; in the literary subjects, staff are often caught up in their teaching duties because of the large number of students... Under these conditions, administrative duties are obviously neglected. Some teaching-research staff do, however, devote their energies to them, more often than not after they have "proved their worth" in research and consolidated their career by becoming professors, in other words when they are nearing the end of their active life. This situation is heightened by the fact that appointment to the most interesting administrative posts (university presidents, UFR [Teaching and Research Unit] directors, laboratory directors) is by election; more often than not, professors who enjoy considerable status and prestige are chosen.

Finally, each of these tasks involves specific constraints. They require a great deal of availability, a very full timetable, a high personal commitment and substantial mobility.

All the points that we have made about the situation of higher education in general and of teaching-research staff in particular highlight the difficulties experienced by women.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN FRANCE

We shall begin by analyzing the position of women in the university, before moving on to the more specific aspect of their role in administration.

1. The Role of Women in the University

a) The "Other" Women

No discussion of women in the university would be complete without some mention of the work performed by women with executive responsibilities. Even if they have no "political" responsibilities at the level of university administration, the posts of secretary general, accountant and head of a teaching and research unit, remain essential to the proper running of the institution. These women are university graduates, recruited by competitive procedures and show skills which would often be better recognized and remunerated in the private sector.

b) Women Teaching-Research Staff in France[10]

The number of teachers employed throughout the educational system, from nursery school to university, has increased but women do not seem to have gained; in the past 25 years, the percentages of women have not risen in the same proportion as the total numbers of staff. Women become increasingly rare as we move up the educational hierarchy: 96% in nursery schools, 67% in primary schools, 62% in the lower secondary sector, 50% in general and technical high schools and only 26% in universities.[11] The position is the same within the university itself.

The number of teaching-research staff[12] rose significantly after 1982 and above all after 1986, following several decades of relative stagnation. But this growth varied from one faculty to another: in the five year period between 1986 and 1991, the number of staff in the scientific disciplines rose by 22%; the corresponding figure for law was 21%, against only 13% for the literary subjects.[13]

However, if we look at the proportion of women within these major groups of disciplines, it is apparent that there has been little change in the relative percentages of men and women; this means in effect that the position of women within the university has gained little from these new waves of recruitment.

The situation of women might even be thought to have worsened if we look at the different types of teaching posts. In France, there are three bodies of titular teaching staff in universities:

- professors (11.5% women);
- senior lecturers and lecturers (33.3% women);
- assistants who were established in their posts in 1983; however, no new recruitments have been made to this category since (36.8% women).

The following table shows just how slow this progression has been; clearly, women only have a strong place in the lowest hierarchical grades and in the least prestigious disciplines.

---

[10] Significantly enough, this term has no feminine form in the everyday French language, although the words "enseignante" and "chercheuse" do exist.

[11] Percentages in the public education sector in 1989, quoted by LELIEVRE (F.) and (C.): *Histoire de la scolarisation des filles*, éd Nathan, Paris, 1991, page 186.

[12] This term covers all the different types of university posts.

[13] Source: MEN/DEP, note 91-48.

	Law	Letters	Science	Health	Total
Professors					
1980	7.4	16.4	7.4	5.8	8.6
1985	7.3	18.4	7.1	6.3	9.1
1990	10.3	22.8	8.5	7.6	11.3
Lecturers					
1980	21.6	37.9	22.4	44.2	29.5
1985	25.2	38.5	23.5	45	30.9
1990	27.2	41.1	26.5	46.9	33.3
Assistants					
1980	31.2	40.8	28.5	28.5	30.3
1985	33.6	44.2	29.9	33.8	34.4
1990	39.7	47.2	24	36.9	36.5

N.B.: Law = legal and economic sciences
Letters = letters and human sciences
The years quoted are the university years 1980/1981, 1985/1986, 1990/1991 (French Ministry of Education statistics).

As H. DELAVAULT pointed out in 1986, the conversion of posts of assistants into lectureships has mainly worked to the advantage of men[14], except more recently in the scientific subjects.

Is this situation attributable to the fact that women hold fewer diplomas than men? In the absence of national data, a recent survey, involving 1048 questionnaires[15] enables two conclusions to be drawn: relatively speaking, slightly more women hold the degree of doctor which is a criterion of eligibility for a post of lecturer, but the number of women with officially confirmed qualifications or holding a "state doctorate" is distinctly less - these titles being necessary to attain the status of professor. The observations made by H. DELAVAULT in 1986 seem still to hold good today: women have greater difficulty in completing work on a thesis which requires a high degree of availability for personal thought. What is more, the criterion of geographical mobility for access to a professorial post has certainly discriminated against a good many women with family responsibilities. Our survey showed that the mobility of women is limited while they are unestablished or assistants but increases to the same level as their male colleagues when they move on to lectureships or professorial posts. In fact, more women than men hold foreign diplomas!

---

[14] DELAVAULT (H.): *Les femmes dans les cadres de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, Diplômées,* N° 138, Sept. 1986, page 99.

[15] The survey was carried out in cooperation with M. CRESPO from Montreal University and was assisted by grants from DESUP 13 (France) and the Canadian Council for Research in the Human Sciences. The initial results were published in: "L'opinion des enseignants-chercheurs sur les évolutions actuelles dans l'Université", journal *Savoir, éducation, formation*, N° 1, January-March 1992, ed. Sirey. "Les enseignants-chercheurs et leur profession", journal *Savoir, éducation, formation*, N° 2, April-June 1992, ed Sirey. Les enseignants-chercheurs physiciens, *Bulletin de la société française de physique*, N° 85, July 1992.

The study of national data by age classes and type of post showed that women assistants tend to be older than their male counterparts: in other words, there has been no change since the 1987 UNESCO survey[16] which found that a high proportion of women aged 60 had been unable to gain promotion for many years.

It might have been hoped, in line with the 1988 Council of Europe report[17], that the increase in the number of posts created since 1988/89 would have resulted in a breakthrough in the number of women; the above table shows that this has not been the case.

We must therefore try to understand the specific obstacles faced by women. The survey conducted in 1991 on the teaching-research staff profession (see footnote 14), confirmed the conclusions reached by H. DELAVAULT in 1986:

- Women find it harder to maintain a high level of research. Interruptions of their work (for example, maternity leave) and a lack of availability often prevent them from taking part in the teams which achieve the best results: only 78% of the women questioned against 87% of men belonged to a research laboratory. Their experience of research is therefore often more isolated (14% work on their own against 9% of men).

- Like their male counterparts, 62% of them maintain that university staff must engage in both teaching and research, but a higher percentage of women are conscious of a conflict between teaching and research work (66% against 59%) and dissatisfied with their share of research work (53% against 41%).

- Women seem to be more evenly committed to the different aspects of their profession: only 41% state that they are more interested in research, against 63% of men. They are more satisfied than men with their teaching relations with students (67% against 60%), but they experience the increase in the number of students as a great strain: 93% of them maintain that the university is not ready to receive larger numbers of students (against 88% of men).

---

[16] Survey of the representation of women in higher education, in research and in the planning and administration of education, UNESCO, ED-87/WS/8, March 1987, page 81.

[17] The fortunes of highly educated women. Symposium on the role of women in higher education, in research and in the planning and administration of education (CEPES/UNESCO), Bucarest, Oct. 1988, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1990.

An equal interest in research and teaching, with all its implications in terms of conflicts and problems, would seem to be more specifically typical of women. This might explain why they are unable to play a greater role in the third aspect of the profession, i.e. administrative and management tasks.

c) The Situation in Europe

A rapid review of the situation of women in universities elsewhere in Europe shows that the situation is scarcely more satisfactory and sometimes even worse. The wide variety of situations and statutes makes any comparison difficult.

In the United Kingdom[18], 4.7% of professors are women, 9.6% of readers and senior lecturers, 25.3% of lecturers and assistant lecturers and 57.9% of "others", i.e. for the most part persons holding short term contracts. By comparison, the fact that assistants have been established in France gives women a less precarious situation.

In the Netherlands[19], the equivalent figures are professors 3%, associate professors 19% and assistant professors 78%.

In Spain[20], for the faculties alone, the proportion of women chairholders is 6.8%, occupants of senior established posts 11.6%, lecturers 23.3%, part-time teachers 24.1%, assistants 35.8% and "others" 30.5%.

In Switzerland[21], only 2.2% of professors are women...

This rapid survey of European universities is monotonous: there are few women to be found anywhere.

2. Women and University Administration

The situation of women in the university outlined above, explains a fortiori why women play such a limited role in the management of the university. As my second introductory anecdote showed, a women who holds a post as lecturer in a literary discipline has little chance of making her voice heard in the university.

---

[18] Source: *Universities Statistical Record*, Cheltenham, June 1992.

[19] Figures for 1986, in *The fortunes of highly educated women*, op.cit., page 77.

[20] Idem, page 82, figures for 1984.

[21] Idem, page 83, figures for 1985.

a) The Reasons for this Defection

The reasons for this situation are numerous and warrant analysis.

- First, they are institutional: the place held by women in the professorial ranks prevents them from becoming candidates for posts carrying high responsibility to which appointments are always made by election. Aspiring candidates for such posts must already have acquired a sufficient status and prominence.

Secondly, women, much of whose time is often taken up by tasks within the family, take a close interest in their teaching duties and must at the same time maintain a high level of research to further their career. Administrative and management tasks appear to them to constitute an additional burden of work which they cannot possibly take on, especially as these tasks carry little prestige. Those who do embark upon them are often accused of being poor researchers. It was only recently on 12 January 1990, that a regulatory text which introduced a "bonus payment for administrative duties", recognized the principle that, alongside the royal road of research, another path might allow emphasis to be placed on management aspects in the course of a university career. These bonus payments are awarded to university presidents, vice-presidents and teaching and research unit directors, so that it is unusual for women to benefit from them: more often than not, they hold positions of lesser responsibility, for example as heads of department. They may of course gain the esteem of their colleagues which is a powerful factor of motivation in the university environment, but they cannot expect any other benefits.

- The survey of teaching-research staff in 1991 (see footnote 14) showed that administrative responsibilities tend to be assumed towards the end of a career. Women are appointed later than men to professorial posts and also retire earlier. They therefore do not experience a tranquil period towards the end of their career when they might devote their energies to administrative tasks.

- The economic situation of women is also a serious obstacle: their position within the hierarchy is generally lower than that of men so that their salaries are also smaller. They cannot afford to pay for help with their domestic duties and the education of their own children.

- As in other sectors, the psychological and cultural barriers are also powerful: women are afraid to take on responsibilities even when they are qualified to do so. Many individuals have shown by their personal example that women have the organizing ability, stringent approach, ability to listen and tenacity which are the hallmarks of good managers. This "abnegation" which is so typical of women in their relationship with knowledge and creation[22] is certainly still more pronounced in the "male world" of the university.

---

[22] MOSCONI (N.): "Spécificité du rapport au savoir des femmes?", in *Savoir et rapport au savoir: élaborations théoriques et cliniques*, éd. Universitaires, Paris, 1989.

Like any other minority, women are obliged to adjust to the values of the dominant group: they often find it hard to come to terms with the spirit of competition, career-mindedness and the weight of the hierarchy. In the survey of the profession of teaching-research staff[23], 67% of women, a much higher percentage than men (58%), stated that the university was still "a preserve of the mandarins." A 1988 UNESCO study already called attention to the relationship of authority and individualism within the university as one of the causes of the lack of attraction for women of posts carrying high responsibility.[24]

b) The Situation Today

In France, nothing seems to have changed at the level of posts carrying heavy responsibilities: in 1985, there were three women rectors (out of 32) and three women university presidents[25]; today, there are still three women rectors and three university presidents.

Despite the lack of any systematic study, a scrutiny of the membership of various university councils does tend to show that the participation of women is increasing slowly, particularly in the councils responsible for studies and student life.

The situation in Europe is scarcely more brilliant.

In the United Kingdom, there are no women Vice-Chancellors in any of the 44 universities. But with the change of title and statutes of the 34 polytechnics, two or perhaps three women may now become Vice-Chancellors.

In Spain, there are no women rectors in the 31 public universities, but 18 women are vice-rectors or secretary-generals (out of 214)[26].

c) Prospects for the Future and Contribution of a Woman Rector to this Process of Reflection

The task of the rector in France is to implement the decisions of the Ministry of Education in the geographical territory of an academy, which often covers several administrative "départements." His or her terms of reference extend from the nursery school to the university. This privileged position gives an overview of the entire educational system.

---

[23] See footnote 14.

[24] Responsibility of women in the conduct of their career and Higher Education; UNESCO/International Federation of Women University Graduates Round Table, working document by J. LAUFER and H. DELAVAULT, March 1988.

[25] Survey of the representation of women in higher education, op.cit., page 106.

[26] *The fortunes of highly educated women*, op.cit., page 152. 1988 figures.

As to the position of women in the educational system in general, I believe that the rector can already pay close attention to the question of attitudes, value systems and behaviour patterns. The educational system has its own images, heroes and role models in history and in the world today. But how many textbooks and teachers pay special attention to women by describing their action and enabling young people to identify positively with one of them? Admittedly this evolution can only take place in the long term; it is uncertain and interspersed with regressions and a lack of progress which may give rise to sociological phenomena tending in the opposite direction.

As regards the participation of women in the administration of the university and in the light of our foregoing observations, a few aspects might perhaps enable the future to be envisaged with greater optimism:

- The first point is self-evident: women will not be able to take their place in administration until they play their full role in the university. The percentage of women members of the university teaching-research staff is increasing by one to two points on average annually: several decades will be needed to achieve parity between men and women...if all goes well. More realistically, the increase in the number of women professors will certainly enhance the role of women in administrative functions.

This phenomenon may give rise to emulation. When women play their part in the administration of universities, the women who already hold responsible positions may give encouragement to those who follow in their footsteps. Evaluation of the presence of women in the institutions, the creation of study and research centres dealing with the condition of women, individual encouragement and advice are all means of facilitating the growth of an awareness which is in its infancy today.

- A second aspect relates to the revaluation of teaching and administrative tasks. One step in the right direction was taken with the introduction of "teaching" bonuses and bonuses for "administrative responsibilities." There is no intention here of diminishing the importance of research which lies at the heart of the university. The aim is to grant recognition to these specific activities at individual career level. The matter now lies in the hand of the local and national committees which are responsible for recruitment and promotion in each discipline.

Perhaps we might go even further by granting a new-style sabbatical year to members of the teaching-research staff - preferably women! - who wish to follow a course of management training in a specialized establishment or company.

The logic of this learning process seems to lead on to the proposal of more exchanges between the different sectors and better conditions of mobility. More exchanges: few companies today are prepared to place their confidence in women drawn from the universities and few university women are prepared to give the experience a try without an escape route. Once again, positive individual experiences do exist; they deserve to be better known, developed and encouraged.

Greater mobility: the survey of teaching-research staff[27] shows that women (50%) are less inclined than men (61%) to advocate mobility and are also more undecided on this matter (18% have no opinion). However, mobility offers them an opportunity to enhance and diversify their experience while at the same time gaining recognition of their abilities.

- More immediate action might be taken in the area of specific training for teaching duties. In France, future members of the teaching-research staff are prepared for their tasks in an establishment known as the Centre for Initiation to Higher Education which covers the territory of an academy. Might these centres not organize a course devoted to university administration which could be offered to staff who are already active? If a course such as this were given by a woman who holds administrative responsibilities, it could become an opportunity to dispel prejudice and encourage a new commitment...

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION...

Experience gained in a number of universities leads me to conclude that administrative duties are a categorical imperative in the eyes of all those men and women who believe that administration must play its role in society in a coherent manner. Although the scientific council brings many gratifying opportunities for the promotion of various initiatives (colloquies, publications, visits by foreign researchers...), the university has many departments in which women can provide the benefit of their particular viewpoint and obtain estimable results. I shall take a few sectors with which I am personally familiar as examples here: continuing education, international relations and student life.

For a long time, continuing education was seen as an escape route for staff who were not "genuine" researchers and engaged instead in parallel activities which were less prestigious but more rewarding financially...In actual fact, it requires adjustment to an audience which is different from that of students fresh from high school and enlivened by a kind of gratuitous intellectual ardour. Adults who attend courses at the university for the most part reveal as much tenacity and interest, but their previous professional experience, their motivation and aspiration to self-advancement make them more demanding and even mistrustful of the professorial discourse. Obscurity cuts no ice with them... and that in itself is a stimulus to the individual whose task it is to transmit knowledge. Today, continuing education, which has gained recognition as a task in its own right for the university, attracts even the best teachers. But it was a fight on two fronts to promote its cause as a woman, once again with the desire to attract female students and pave the way for other women teachers...

---

[27] See footnote 14.

The sector of international relations, which is gratifying through the meetings and travel which it involves, tended to be viewed as a reward granted by the whole body of university teaching staff rather than as a reasoned choice. By playing their part here, many senior women staff have demonstrated their ability to avoid the trap of "university tourism" and their mistrust of certain conventions which are signed amid great festivities and pomp in the presence of many visitors but bring few lasting benefits in terms of exchanges of teaching staff and students; they have shown on the contrary their ability to privilege, with a pragmatic and serious approach, a network dynamic whose outcomes today link the finest establishments in the Europe of universities.

For their part, the bodies responsible for student life have enabled students to gain an awareness of their responsibilities and rights and have led to progress at university level in reception, accommodation and material organization of meals and of the living environment. The women who devote their energies to this task seem to bring a measure of generosity, an ability to listen and a keen attention to the results of the action taken; they reap the benefits in terms of the esteem in which they are held by the whole university society, including students. Today, several of these women have been elected or appointed to posts of high responsibility. They might be an example to others...

These routes - and there are of course others - call for individual determination on the part of the women directly concerned and also for a collective commitment through national policy strategy. In this regard, the developed and developing countries clearly all face similar problems....I hope that this contribution which refers to a future that has yet to be defined, will help to foster solidarity and fresh initiatives.

INDIA

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

Suma Chitnis

The Issue

The mandate for this paper is to examine the participation of women academics and administrators in the management of higher education in the author's country, and if possible, region. Further, to identify factors that have contributed to the strengths and the weaknesses of women's participation - with a view to indicating short-term and long-term training and other strategies towards enhancing and strengthening it. The task assigned is part of a multi-country exploration aimed at situating the issue of women in the management of higher education within the larger framework of the major questions and trends in higher education in the author's national or regional context. Finally, it should be suggested how women, through their active involvement, can make a distinctive contribution to enhance the quality and relevance of higher education in their countries. This paper examines these points with reference to the Indian situation.

Higher Education in India - The System

India has a massive system of higher education. According to the latest data available there are 196 "university level" institutions in the country. They serve roughly 4.3 million students.[1] The system is basically made up of affiliating and teaching universities and structures inherited from the colonial times. However, there are thirty post-independence additions. These include the agricultural universities, and a range of innovatively structured institutions, such as, the Institutes of Technology, Institutes of Management, the Institutes of Medical Sciences, set up as centres of excellence and deemed to be universities. Finally, there are several bodies set up to guide, monitor and generally assist the proper functioning of these institutions. Among these may be mentioned the University

---

[1] The statistics presented in this paper have been compiled from the following sources:
(i) The Annual Reports and Handbook of the University Grants Commission;
(ii) The Annual Reports and Handbook of the Association of Indian Universities;
(iii) The Commonwealth Universities' Yearbook; and
(iv) Moonis Raza, *Higher Education in India - Retrospect and Prospect*, Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi, 1991.

Grants Commission set up in 1956 and the All India Council of Technical Education set up in 1945. All these institutions, universities, research institutes and bodies such as the UGC and AICTE, constitute our field of discussion when we talk about the participation of women in the management of higher education in India.

Both the massive size and the structural diversification of higher education in India are post-independence phenomena. The first three universities for European education in the country were set up at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857. Almost a century later, when the country acquired independence and set its First Five Year Plan into operation (1951), there were only 28 universities. Today there are 146, and, in addition, the other institutions mentioned.

In the hierarchy of the organization of higher education, the top position is that of the Chancellor, in the case of universities, and the Visitor, in the case of the institutes of technology and some of the other "deemed" universities. The Governor of the State and the President of India hold these positions respectively. Next, in line of managerial authority at universities, are the Vice-Chancellors who are administrative as well as academic heads of their universities. The corresponding position is held by the Directors, at the institutes of technology and other institutions "deemed" to be universities. At universities, the Vice-Chancellor, is assisted by a Pro-Vice-Chancellor in the larger institutions. Next in the order of hierarchy, on the administrative side, at universities as well as at the deemed universities, are the Registrar and Finance Officer. Then the Deputy Registrar, Assistant Registrar and so on. On the academic side the hierarchy of management runs through the positions of Deans, Faculty Heads, Heads of Departments, and Principals of the affiliated colleges.

The Representation of Women

One of the most important findings from the effort to gain information on the representation of women in these positions is that, although bodies such as the University Grants' Commission and the Association of Indian Universities put out a variety of statistics on higher education in India, there are hardly any data on the gender composition of the different academic and administrative positions in the system. This is a serious shortcoming, particularly in view of the national commitment to advance the participation of women in development. Therefore the first task towards improving their participation in the academic profession and in the management of higher education would be to take systematic stock of their representation in the various academic and administrative positions.

Data that can be assembled reveal that women have held practically every position in the hierarchy, except that of Visitor.[2] There has been no Visitor for the simple reason that the country has yet not had a woman President. But, in their capacity as State Governors women have been Chancellors of Universities. From 1981 onwards for five years, the University Grants' Commission was headed by a woman. Data from the latest annual handbook of the Association of Indian Universities indicate that today nine (5.77%) out of the 165 "university level" institutions, which constitute the membership of the Association, have women Vice-Chancellors. Out of the 598 officers, viz. Registrars, Finance Officers, Librarians, Deans, Directors of Student Welfare at these universities, 21 (3.6%) are female. Out of the 4446 heads of Departments and Principals of Constituent Colleges 436 (10.82%) are women. We do not have information regarding the affiliated colleges in the country.

---

[2] The Prime Minister is head of the Government of India. Indira Gandhi held this Prime Ministership. But, the President is titular head of the country, and, therefore, head of some of the Central and All India institutions.

Although women have held practically every position in the management of higher education, their representation is extremely small. It is important to note that even the women's colleges in the country, which exclusively serve women students, do not always have women principals. There are approximately 800 women's colleges in the country. Further, although it is noteworthy that the universities headed by women Vice-Chancellors cover the entire spectrum of institutions, viz. the traditional universities, the agricultural universities and the "deemed" universities. They do not represent the disciplines satisfactorily. Out of the nine universities headed by women, one specializes in Social Science and Social Work, one in Music and one in Home Science. All these three fields of study are largely restricted to women. None of the five prestigious Institutes of Technology in the country or the two new apex institutions of medical sciences have as yet been headed by women. Again five out of the nine universities headed by women are exclusively for women. Only four are co-educational. Three of them are in Bombay and four in the region south of Bombay. Only two are in north India. Thus not only is the representation of women in the management of higher education in India very small, but it is highly skewed, in terms of their discipline-wise distribution, as well as their geographical location.

Traditions against Gainful Employment

That the representation of women in the management of higher education is small is not surprising. As elsewhere in the world, woman's place in India has traditionally been in the home. It is considered to be the responsibility of men to earn for their families. There are strong taboos against the gainful employment of women. These have been supported by the segregation of women, and taboos against their venturing outside their homes. For middle and upper class women, these taboos have been particularly categorical and strong.

Exclusion from Education

Traditions denying women access to gainful employment were further reinforced by their exclusion from formal education. As is well known, the right to education in Hindu society was traditionally defined by caste. Each caste group was allowed the education appropriate to its status, and relevant to the occupations it was permitted to follow. Transgression of caste-rules in the matter of education was considered to be a sacrilege and carried harsh penalties. The exclusion of women from education was more secular and less categorical in character. Nevertheless it has been firm and long-standing. Early in the Vedic times (2000 B.C. - 1500) the country did produce learned women scholars. However, women's access to education subsequently declined so miserably that, by 200 B.C., Manu the law giver had given them untouchable castes and declared them to be unfit for learning. Feminist research now reveals that despite this women from some scholarly Brahmin and powerful Kshatriya families, particularly royal families, were often learned. But, these were rare exceptions, and women's access to formal education remained very poor. By the time the British were established as rulers in India, women were not only excluded from education, but subject to oppressive practices like Sati, female infanticide, child marriage and the denial of remarriage to widows. In order to understand fully the current situation regarding the education and the employment of women in India, it is necessary to take cognizance of these traditions, of how they changed through British rule, and how they operate in independent India.[3]

Steady Change

Christian missionaries were the first to attempt to educate Indian women. To start with they educated women converted to Christianity. But, eager to convert the upper caste Hindus, and convinced that the best way to do so would be to introduce upper caste women to European education, they made determined efforts towards their schooling. Initially, they were unsuccessful. But, by the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, they found support from an unexpected quarter. As Western educated Indian men started to recognize that their access to the inner social circle of British society would improve if their wives spoke English and acquired European manners, they turned to the missionaries to tutor their women. Gradually, European women from the laity also stepped forward to take advantage of the opportunity to serve as governesses and teachers. And, the practice of private tuition or instruction to small groups of women in what came to be known as "Zenna" schools crept into a culture which had, for centuries, denied women formal education.

However, the real dent in traditions denying women education was made by the nineteenth century movement for social reform. This movement which gained momentum in the 1840s had two major thrusts: first, an organized effort to obtain legislation against Sati, child marriage, female infanticide and the denial of remarriage to widows; and second, a firm and steady campaign for the education of women. This campaign was based on the conviction that education alone could dislodge the deeply internalized traditions that tied women to these practices. No doubt the efforts of the social reformers focused on urban upper and middle castes and classes, and were largely confined to the former British provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. But the advance of the education of women in this sector of the Indian population was significant.

---

[3] Ref. Suma Chitnis: "India" in *International Handbook of Women's Education*, Ed. Gail Kelly, Greenwood Press, New York, 1989.

Women's Entry into the Nurturing Occupations

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, social reformers ventured farther to provide widows and other marginalized women with education that would equip them to earn for themselves, and to become self-reliant and independent. In the face of severe opposition they pursued this mission.[4] Nursing and school-teaching, seen as nurturing occupations, were amongst the very few that society then, grudgingly, accepted as permissible for women. Since health services for women and schools for girls were being set up, there was a steady demand for nurses and for women school teachers. Those who were willing to work were readily absorbed. But, as late as the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century it was believed that high school or university educated women should not condescend to work unless circumstances forced them to do so. The more fortunate were expected to be socially active and to do voluntary social work. A few women did nevertheless enter the professions of law or medicine or take up school or university teaching, not out of necessity but for self-realization. But, these were bold exceptions to the rule. Moreover, they generally had to opt out of marriage in order to realize their aspirations.

At the beginning of the twentieth century when Gandhi drew women into the movement for freedom he specifically affirmed that their education was vital, both for the success of the movement and for the development of the country as a strong nation after freedom had been won. The education of women had an important place in the agenda that the Congress party spelt out for the tasks to be accomplished after the country acquired independence. But, surprisingly, even Gandhi's encouragement for the education of women did not open venues for their gainful employment. Societal attitudes to their employment remained largely unchanged until the decade of the forties. During the Second World War a shortage of manpower, combined with an unprecedented rise in the cost of living forced middle-class families in cities like Bombay and Calcutta to accept the employment of their educated women. This brought about a sea change in the urban outlook on the employment of women. It was no longer viewed as an unfortunate circumstance. Slowly but surely it came to be appreciated as a healthy effort to "supplement the family income".

---

[4] One of the leading lights, in the nineteenth century movement for the empowerment of marginalized women, was Maharshi Karve. In days when widows were not allowed to remarry and were severely oppressed, he married a widow and set up a shelter where women who were ill-treated by their families could take refuge. Although education was, by the end of the nineteenth century available to upper and middle-class girls from educated and progressive families, Karve's was the earliest effort to gear high school education towards making women economically self-sufficient. In 1916 he established a University for Women. Then known as the Women's National University, it was subsequently renamed as Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University. Today this is one of the leading Universities in the country and provides graduate and post-graduate education in diverse fields.

The Constitutional Guarantee of Equality

After independence both the education and the employment of women gained a fresh boost. The Constitution of independent India underlined their equal status as citizens. Government plans and programmes at the State as well as the central level emphasized their education. With the revolution of rising expectations and standards of life more and more educated women were willing to work. There were growing job opportunities into which they were readily absorbed. Meanwhile, both the concept of women's right to work and the actual employment of educated women received a massive push from the feminist movement that had been gathering strength through the International Women's Decade between 1975 and 1985. By the Sixth Plan period, official documents were beginning to talk about the 'empowerment' of women and their right to equal opportunity to work.

Today, in India, women are to be found in every sphere of employment at all levels. While most educated working women continue to give primacy to their responsibilities as wives, mothers and home-makers and subscribe to the notion that their careers are to be accommodated within these responsibilities, the single-minded career women is no longer the rare exception. But, in the staggering heterogeneity of Indian life, shades of modernity co-exist with total orthodoxy and traditions in different phases of change. The situation of women in the management of higher education must be viewed in the context of this reality.

Women's Reference for the Academic Profession Today

As has been mentioned earlier, school teaching and nursing were the occupations first permitted to middle and upper class and caste women in the Indian society. School teaching was particularly preferred, possibly, because it carried the special respect that Indian society has traditionally accorded to occupations involving knowledge and teaching. When women entered university teaching, their status was significantly higher than that of school teachers. Although women now have access to practically every profession, to independent business, and several other avenues of employment that are highly prestigious and lucrative, there are many who prefer the academic profession. Since most positions in the management of higher education are given to academics who make a mark as researchers, scholars or teachers it is important to understand this preference and to look at how women who enter academe perform.

The data available on the issue indicate that there are some committed scholars and researchers who enter academe because they believe that it is the only place where they can seek self-fulfilment. But, they also reveal that many women join the academic profession for the simple reason that it combines more easily than any other occupation with their responsibilities as home-makers. Schools and colleges have long vacations, and they are able to use these vacations to catch up with pending home-making tasks. Moreover, it is helpful to have the same work hours and vacations as the children. But, that is not all. In the complex process of India's transition from tradition to modernity, men have been turning away from the academic profession to more lucrative and prestigious occu-pations. Nevertheless, they seem to want their wives to enter this profession and to earn for the family the status that engagement in learning continues to bring.[5]

In this situation, women who enter the academic profession are well-qualified, often better qualified than their male colleagues, at the point at which they enter the profession. But, very few are able to do research, or writing, acquire doctoral or post-doctoral degrees or other academic distinctions required to be elevated to positions of management. The burden of carrying, simultaneously, their responsibilities as mothers and home-makers makes it difficult, some times impossible, for them to make the extra investment required. Moreover, even those who acquire additional qualifications are not always willing to move from a purely teaching or research position to one involving administrative responsibilities because these involve more time on the job. Purely administrative and managerial positions, are even less popular, since these are often "non-vacation" posts which do not fit in with their responsibilities as home-makers. The basic problem thus seems to be that most women in the academic profession consider their role as professionals or as earners secondary to that of the men in the family, and therefore, lack the drive to move up.

Of course, all this is rapidly changing. As mentioned earlier, many women now accord equal importance to their responsibilities as career women and home-makers, and some even consider their careers more important. Although this change is visible, particularly in cities like Bombay, the shape of its impact is somewhat unclear. Meanwhile, one can see that the advance of those who venture to move up is often restricted because they are unwilling and unable to do the pushing and politicking that is now increasingly required to advance to senior positions in the management of higher education.

Acceptance within the System and Self Concepts of Women Managers

From the foregoing, it is evident that women's access to positions of management in higher education is restricted by many factors. But, the personal experience of the author and of colleagues she has spoken to indicates that those who make it to these positions are generally well accepted by their students, by faculty, by other administrators and by the authorities. This is corroborated by the few data that are available.

---

[5] Ref. Suma Chitnis: *The Teacher Role in the College System*, Ph.D. Dissertation. Mimeo, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1992.

Two organizations, viz. the National Institute of Educational and Public Administration (NIEPA) at Delhi and the SNDT Women's University at Bombay, which regularly conduct courses for women managers of higher education, have been collecting some information to guide them in designing and administering these courses. Data on principals of 300 out of the 800 women's colleges by NIEPA in this connection indicate that women principals function as confidently as their male counterparts. The study which assessed their confidence in terms of twelve items pertaining to their work indicate women scored an average of 30.32 points as compared to 30.22 scored by men on a scale of scores between 16 and 36. The details of the data reveal some minor variations which are interesting. (See Appendix 1).[6]

In the same study the women principals were asked to specify the problems they face and to indicate what kind of help they need by way of training. By and large both men and women mentioned the same kind of problems. In fact, many of the respondents categorically stated that there is no difference in the problems that men and women administrators face. However, some women did mention problems which they feel are gender-specific. One of the most frequently mentioned is mobility. Many women principals feel that it is more difficult for women than for men to visit Government offices or to visit Delhi or even the capital city in the state for administrative matters. They also feel that they move around less, are less able to socialize, and are, therefore, less informed on relevant issues than their male counterparts. Several respondents also mentioned that as women they find it difficult to exercise authority over male subordinates, particularly if they are male chauvinists. At the same time, they also find it difficult to discipline women subordinates who expect greater sympathy, understanding and leniency from women superiors. Several respondents referred to the corruption and political pressures which they face. They feel that it is more difficult for women than for men to withstand and fight these pressures, since those who exercise them do not hesitate to indulge in character defamation. Of course, in addition to this, most of the women mentioned the difficulties they face in balancing their responsibilities as college principals and home-makers.

The same study solicited information from the principals on the exact nature of their training needs. The following table indicates the priorities of both the male and the female principals with reference to the nine items listed in the questionnaire.

---

[6] Ref. Jaya Indiresan: *Report on Training Needs of Principals of Women's Colleges in India.* NIEPA, New Delhi, 1990.

	Area	Females		Males		Total		Group ranking based prioritization
		mean	rank	mean	rank	mean	rank	
1.	Key Issues in Higher Education	2.09	3	2.21	1	2.12	2	5
2.	Institutional Planning	2.03	5	2.004	4.5	2.02	5	2
3.	Administration	2.04	4	2.04	3	4	4	1
4.	Finance Management	2.18	1	2.14	2	2.17	1	4
5.	Personnel Management	1.98	6	1.99	6.5	1.98	6	6
6.	Academic Management	1.73	9	1.70	8	1.72	9	3
7.	Student Affairs	1.76	3	1.69	9	1.74	8	7
8.	Linkages	2.11	2	1.99	6.5	2.09	3	9
9.	Self-Development	1.87	7	2.00	4.5	1.89	7	8

The nine items in this table, as elaborated in Appendix II offer an outline, which could be used for any country. In order to flesh it out with a substantive content specifically relevant to India, it is necessary to look at some of the problems currently faced by managers of higher education in this country.

Dealing with Massive Numbers

One of the most basic problems is that the growth of universities has been too rapid and too large. This creates serious difficulties for management at all levels. In order to obtain some idea of the situation, it is pertinent to look at the growth of the University of Bombay, one of the oldest in the country. In 1950-51, the University of Bombay had only 23 affiliated colleges. Together, they served 22,608 students. Today the University has 214 colleges and upwards of 2,222,713 students. This, despite the fact that the jurisdiction of the University, which once stretched to the former province of Sind in the Punjab and to parts of what is now the state of Karnataka, is now a fraction of what it was prior to 1950-51. The staff available to the University to supervise and monitor the working of these 214 colleges and to conduct examinations has not increased proportionately. Nor has its organizational structure been changed with a view to enabling it to cope with what is now a massive task of managing 214 affiliated colleges.

The affiliated colleges, in turn, have their own difficulties in managing numbers. Physical facilities, stretched to accommodate several times the number of students they originally set up for, are grossly inadequate. There is a dearth of class rooms, of library books, of areas for faculty and where students can spend time between classes. The number of students in classes taught has increased from what used to be ten to twenty for small classes and about sixty to seventy for large classes to some times as many as a hundred and fifty students in the large classes. Meanwhile, nothing much has yet been done to ensure that this does not adversely affect the quality of classroom teaching. Instruction continues to be through lectures. The lecture method has always been criticized as one that makes for passive learning. But, earlier, when the number of students in a class was smaller, teachers could generate some interaction and discussion, maintain personal contact with their students and keep track of their progress. Today it is impossible to do so. Similarly, evaluation continues to be through annual written examinations. Earlier when they had a limited number of papers to examine, examiners could read through answer papers carefully. Now, pressed to read larger and larger numbers of papers, it is not possible for them to do so.

Lectures as well as annual examinations have become purely mechanical. The IITs and other apex institutions referred to have introduced other more creative and efficient methods for teaching and evaluation. But, they can do so only because they have enormously superior resources and deal with smaller numbers of students. Managers of universities in India today need urgent help to find ways and means of organizing instruction and evaluation for large numbers of students more efficiently and effectively than they are able to do at present.

The Development of Courses Relevant to the Country's Needs

Another major problem that universities face is that of providing courses that are employment-oriented and more suitably geared to development. This problem is most seriously experienced with reference to the routine Arts, Commerce and General Science courses for which practically 71 per cent of the population of university students is enrolled, and which account for the largest share of university-educated unemployment in the country. However, it is also gradually being experienced with reference to professional fields, such as Engineering, Medicine, Law and Pharmacy. Today, graduates in these professional fields are only equipped for urban practice or employment. The irony of their situation is that they may, on the basis of their qualifications, easily find employment in developed countries abroad - yet, they are unable to serve the needs of small town and rural India. This is unfortunate, not only for their own careers but also for the country.

A related problem is that universities have not been particularly successful in acquainting students with the indigenous culture, with the country's arts, crafts, philosophy and history. Worse yet, they have failed to sensitize students adequately to the realities of Indian life - to problems such as population, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment. Courses in the disciplines of Sociology, Economics and Political Science continue to be bookish in character, do not deal with current realities and, therefore, fail to equip students to contribute creatively and effectively to the country's development.

The University Grants Committee (UGC), the Central Government, the State Government and other bodies who are responsible for the management of higher education have attempted to provide a lead in developing relevant courses as well as in the matter of acquainting students with current realities, traditions and culture. Schemes exist to "restructure" courses and to develop "applied" components in syllabi. The National Social Service (NSS), Population Education, Adult Education, Literacy Extension Education are some of the schemes introduced with these objectives in view. All universities in the country have been involved in these programmes. But, they have had very limited returns. This is partly because the programmes are centrally conceived and directed and lack the spontaneity, flexibility and autonomy which, as experience from successful development projects has proved, are absolutely necessary to establish contact with the realities of Indian life.

There are several other reasons for the failure. One of the most obvious is that the existing courses, as well as the manner in which these courses are taught are much too firmly set. Despite their exposure to orientation courses and other strategies aimed at facilitating change, faculty are slow to respond and administrators resent the changes in budgets and timetables that are involved.

Indianising an European Implant

Basically, the roots of these inadequacies lie deep in the circumstances in which the university system which operates in India today was established by the British, in the middle of the nineteenth century, when they set up the country's first three universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Designed specifically for the objective of imparting European culture to the Indian elite, this system did not maintain any links with indigenous knowledge or skills. Although India had well established traditions of learning, the universities established by the British were centres on Western thought, conceptions, practices and experience. Because they were designed to serve the elite, and because their only other function was to produce the limited manpower required to serve British administration and trade in India, they made no effort to touch the needs and the lives of the mass of Indian people. There were European implants that never really took roots in Indian soil. Nationalist leaders, particularly Gandhi, Nehru and Tagore, had always commented upon the cultural distance between university-educated Indians and the masses. But, the magnitude of this difference, and its implications to the country had never really been recognized. It is now evident that because they themselves have been educated in a system which is out of touch with Indian realities, those who are responsible for developing relevant courses and syllabi at Indian universities have failed to measure up to the task.

At the same time, the rigidity of rules and requirements relating to the appointment of faculty or the organization of syllabi with which universities function makes it almost impossible to draw those who are in touch with these realities, or equipped with traditional skills and knowledge into the university system. For instance, since independence, there has been a rich revival - a virtual renaissance - of the indigenous fine and performing arts, of crafts, of yoga and medicine. Most of the development in these fields, including the meagre education that is being provided, has been outside of universities. The need to bring them into the university system is recognized but difficult to meet. Despite years of training through practice or even arduous apprenticeship to reputed masters, the traditional artists, craftsmen and scholars, who are in the forefront of this renaissance, do not possess the formal qualifications required for appointment as university teachers. Requirements regarding degrees can be waived if it is proved that the artists are of "outstanding" merit. But, outstanding merit is difficult to prove. Moreover, the process is long and arduous. Another problem is that of getting these scholars to work on time-schedules by which universities function, and to organize their instruction in the manner and units required as per established practice at universities. Managers of higher education need to be equipped to overcome these imitations to reach out into the post-independence growth of arts, crafts and skills and into experience from development projects to help design syllabi that equip students with truly marketable skills and with capabilities that are relevant to the country's needs and developments.

The Management of Finance

The management of finance is another major challenge faced by managers of higher education at all levels. The Central Universities and the new apex institutions set up as centres of excellence are well funded. But, the mass of universities have had to stretch their facilities to accommodate larger and larger numbers of students. The consequences are alarming and sad. They range from ill-maintained buildings and physical facilities such as furniture and black boards to the inability to provide necessities such as laboratory equipment, libraries, teaching aids, or staff. Currently more than 88 per cent of the expenditure on higher education is borne by the State and Central Governments. This is a steep increase over the 52 per cent shared by the British Government at the point at which the country acquired independence from colonial rule. From the commencement of the Eight Plan period, both State and Central Government have firmly declared that they cannot contribute anything more since other more competing demands for development have to be met.

Under the circumstances, it is imperative that institutions of higher education streamline their budgets, exercise economy, invest the funds available to them carefully and generate incomes of their own. The increasing dependence on Government for funds combined with the established practice of deficit budgeting has generated a culture wherein these institutions fail to take these responsibilities seriously. The general lack of competence and apathy on these counts is further aggravated by the fact that Government as principal financier exercises close control. Rules and regulations regarding allocation and disbursement of funds, as well as directives defining limits within which fees may be charged are so rigid that they cripple the initiative of those who administer and manage universities and colleges. It would, therefore, be valuable to strengthen their capabilities in the various facets of financial management ranging from preparation of budgets to generation of funds. It is particularly necessary to equip managers of education to wend their way through the maze of bureaucratic procedures, rules, regulations, requirements and definitions by which Government grants are allocated and disbursed.

Coping with Unionization and Litigation

Other major problems that managers of higher education have to face arise out of the increasing unionization of the non-academic staff, the faculty and the students, and the increasing tendency to litigate and to take administrative issues into courts of law. Neither unionization nor recourse to legal redress for grievances are, per se, objectionable. In fact these institutions are vital to the functioning of universities in a democratic society. But, Vice-Chancellors and Registrars of universities, and Principals of colleges are not really equipped to handle the complex labour laws by which universities and colleges are governed or the other litigation that they continuously face. Moreover, with the politicization of higher education that has occurred, academic and administrative issues are virtually monopolized by political vested interests.

Politicization

Like several other problems that plague universities in India today, the problem of their politicization is at least partly rooted in their structure, which is inherited from colonial times. This structure was designed to restrict the autonomy of universities and to provide for Government control over them. For instance, universities are established by Statute. The Governor of the State in which they function is their Chancellor. Government nominees sit on all important bodies such as the Senate, the Academic Council, the Executive Council and the Committees that interview and select faculty and administrative staff.

In the democratic system of government as it operates in India today, the government nominees are almost invariably persons with political power and vested interests. Not only are they inclined to use students, faculty and even university premises for political purposes but they are prone to use the meetings of the university bodies on which they function as arenas to settle their political conflicts and serve their personal interests. Academic and administrative issues are sometimes turned to serve these ends.

Coping with the Nexus between the Government and Politicians

While the politicization of bodies within the university is difficult enough to handle, the problems that managers of higher education at all levels find even more frustrating are those that are generated by the manner in which the nexus between government and the politicians works. The point may be illustrated with reference to the problem of numbers described earlier.

Soon after the establishment of the UGC in 1956, its first Chairman had firmly recommended curtailment of admissions. Subsequently, from the Third Five-Year Plan onwards, every single Commission and Committee appointed by the Government of India to look into higher education has recommended urgent restriction of expansion. Yet, neither the Central nor the State Government has accepted this advice. They have argued that to do so would be contrary to the national commitment to equality of educational opportunity. However, those familiar with the scenario of higher education in India will agree that underlying this explanation are at least two political reasons why the Government is unwilling to halt education.

First, a large number of students who seek admission to universities do so because they do not find employment after high school. By providing high school graduates with the opportunity for higher education, the Government keeps the frustration of unemployment within manageable bounds. Second, politicians, who have discovered that one of the easiest ways of pleasing their electorates is to start colleges in their constituencies, continuously press Government for permission to do so. It is difficult, often impossible, for the Ministers to refuse these demands. In principle, universities are autonomous and can refuse affiliation to new colleges. But, being dependent on the Government, they are unable to resist ministerial pressures to affiliate. In the ultimate analysis, managers of higher education need to be empowered to fight this situation.

The Realization of Nationalist Dreams

Thus, the management of higher education in India may, on the idealistic plane, be viewed as a unique opportunity to operationalize the nationalist dream to gear education to the instrument for social, economic and political development. But, in reality it is a complex challenge to hold together and gear to the needs of the country a system that has grown phenomenally, and much too rapidly; to combine and balance the demand for excellence and for world class education with a highly politicized and distorted commitment to equality of educational opportunity; to contain and contend with political pressures from without and politicization from within, with which the system is plagued; and through all this, to gear to the economic needs and development requirements of the country academic programmes which, as pointed out above, have, so far, never really been anchored, either in the indigenous culture or in people's needs. Managers of higher education in India need to be equipped to handle this complex task.

The Final Questions

So far we have concentrated on describing the scenario with respect to higher education in India and on indicating how, generally, training programmes can help managers of higher education to function efficiently. We must now turn to three final questions which constitute the core concern of this paper. Do women managers of higher education need something in addition to, or different from, their male colleagues? How can their participation be increased and improved? Do they have anything special to contribute as managers?

Continuous Identification of the Training Needs of Women Managers

The answers to the first of these three critical questions have been suggested at relevant points while discussing some of the constraints faced by managers of higher education in India. As regards women managers, Table 1, presented earlier in this paper indicates how and where their needs are different from those of men. This difference is marginal but it should be recognized in defining points for emphases in every training course. It is also important to recognize that the substantive character of the difference between the training needs of men and women are likely to change from time to time and differ from one region to another in India. Designers of training programmes must be alert to this and ascertain the specific needs of women participating in each programme.

The Need to Take Cognizance of the Regional Differences

It is also important that training courses take note of regional differences in attitudes towards the situation of women in employment. These are rooted deep in the history and the cultural ethos of each. Although the issue has not yet been systematically researched, it is evident that the relatively more positive attitudes to the employment of women in Bombay in particular and the south of India in general could possibly be explained by several factors such as certain elements of the Dravidian culture; the Kerala tradition of matriarchy; that two out of the first three universities established by the British were located in the southern region (Bombay and Madras); that the nineteenth century movement for social reform on behalf of women had a strong base in the former provinces of Bombay and Madras; that it was in the city of Pune, adjacent to Bombay, that Mahatma Phule and Maharshi Karve, the nineteenth century stalwarts who valiantly fought for the cause of the education of women, first launched their mission; that it was at Pune, and later at Bombay, that Maharshi Karve courageously established the SNDT Women's University, now more than seventy-five years' old; that Bombay, and the region around Bombay was the territory from which Gandhi functioned; and where the nationalist movement had a strong base; that Bombay is one of the most cosmopolitan metropolitan cities in India and has for almost two centuries now functioned as the gateway of India.

In order to understand what it is that promotes the participation of women in the management of education, it is necessary to research these speculative explanations systematically. Meanwhile, as mentioned earlier, there are at least two different points in the organization of training for women managers of higher education at which the difference between the South and the North and the advance of Bombay needs to be taken into account. First, awareness must be promoted. Second, it is necessary to specifically locate training programmes and activities for women managers of higher education in north India. Finally, it would be useful to describe historically, to analyze, and discuss these differences between the North and the South of the country at training courses. The author's own experience with training courses for women managers suggests that such discussions help to illustrate the constraints that women face and have faced, as well as the paths through which they have forged ahead and can advance further.

The Need to Lift the Aspirations of Women in the Academic Profession

In designing training programmes for women, it is also important to take careful cognizance of the following facts noted earlier, viz. that most women who enter the academic profession are highly qualified but not particularly competitive; that many of them choose this profession in preference to more lucrative and sometimes more prestigious occupations, basically because it combines more easily than most other occupations with their responsibilities as home-makers; that they have a tendency, therefore, to accord a secondary status to their own careers. Therefore, in order to improve the participation of women in the management of higher education, it is necessary to provide in training programmes components which firmly lift their aspirations, stimulate their ambitions, and motivate them to rethink and revise their own rating of their role and responsibilities as professionals as secondary to their role as home-makers. It is in fact necessary to bring this awareness to their male colleagues, superiors and subordinates as well.

Women's Special Contribution as Managers of Women's Universities and Colleges

Finally, the question as to whether women can make any special contribution to the management of higher education in India must be answered.

There are five women's universities and eight hundred and fifty-one women's colleges which exclusively serve women students. Similarly, there are two hundred colleges of home-science, 46 schools of social work, 32 colleges of nursing and several colleges of education which primarily cater for women students. All the women's universities and most of the women's colleges in the country are headed by women. So are several of the colleges of home science, schools of social work, colleges of nursing, and colleges of education. The women managing these institutions have the opportunity to shape the futures of several thousand women. At a point of time when the country is specifically committed to use education as an instrument for the empowerment of women, this is indeed a very special opportunity.

Colleges run exclusively for women confirm the idea that women must be segregated from men. One would imagine that this notion is outmoded. But the fact that the number of women's colleges has increased from 609 in 1980-81 to 851 by 1991 indicates that several sectors of Indian society still hesitate to send girls to co-educational colleges. While orthodoxy thus prevails, the Constitution of the country firmly asserts the equality of women, recognizes that centuries of denial of opportunities have reduced them to a "weaker section" of society and affirms a national commitment to their advance. The challenge then is to use these colleges as centres for a concentrated effort towards that end. The dimensions of their weakness need to be identified and strategies for their empowerment in every one of these need to be designed. Training courses must equip women managers to measure up to this responsibility.

97

For instance, one of the most important needs towards the empowerment of women is to make them economically independent. For this it is necessary to ensure that the degrees and diplomas they acquire equip them with truly marketable skills. At professional colleges, such as colleges of nursing and social work where courses are already employment oriented, the task is largely one of a continuous upgrading, updating and revision of courses to keep pace with advances in knowledge and skills and with trends in the employment market. But, the task is far more difficult at colleges of arts and commerce where courses, at present, are largely restricted to providing a broad general education. These are not really employment-oriented. In fact, they are not even adequately rigorous in terms of building the competence of students in the subjects they have chosen. considering that more than 75 per cent of the girls in higher education are enrolled for these courses, there are at least two important steps that need to be urgently taken with reference to these courses. First, there must be a firm upgrading and sharpening of existing courses with a view to making them more rigorous, employment-oriented and more effectively designed to serve the needs of development. Second, the introduction of a range of new courses, aimed at helping women to be entrepreneurs, enabling them to set up services and businesses of their own, to practice and to teach traditional dance, music, yoga, to work as professionals and/or render voluntary help with development related work in areas such as population control, health, food, housing, water and fuel conservation. Arts and commerce colleges will have to draw upon courses taught at polytechnics, agricultural universities and the full range of professional colleges for this. They will also have to reach out beyond the university system to institutions and to persons, with expertise in the indigenous arts and crafts, and into knowledge and skills.

Regardless of whether the task of making courses more relevant to employment and to development is taken up with reference to professional fields or with reference to the more generic fields of Arts, Science and Commerce, two objectives that are important to the advancement of the status of women will have to monitored. First a conscious attempt will have to be made to ensure that women gain access to professions and to positions from which they have traditionally been excluded because of traditional concepts or rather biases about what is appropriate for women and what is not. In fact, an attempt will have to be made to help women to go as far ahead as they possibly can. Second, at all levels of employment, including the lowest, the appearance of new opportunities for employment will have to be carefully watched and the education of women will have to be kept flexible so as to equip them suitably for appropriate slots. It will be particularly important to watch their displacement due to technological and other advances and to equip them for alternate avenues of employment when this happens.

A question may well be asked as to why all this is being suggested as the "distinctive" contribution of women. Actually, the suggestion is based on the observation that, so far, women have done this better than men - not because of any innate superiority but because, through the decades of colonial rule, while educated Indian men became distanced from the indigenous culture, women remained somewhat closer, probably because the spheres in which they functioned kept them in touch with tradition.

Similarly, women who manage institutions with large numbers of women students are particularly well situated to contribute to the social and political advancement of their students. They can do so by acquainting students with legal rights available to women with Constitutional provisions in their favour, and by informing them about opportunities for education and employment as well as different kinds of facilities and support systems provided by the State and Central Governments as well as by other voluntary bodies. They can set up programmes to sharpen the students' awareness of gender discrimination, to lift their aspirations, and to change their self concepts so as to enable them to see themselves as independent individuals, successful career women, artists, writers, and responsible citizens - in addition to being wives, mothers and home-makers. Above all, they can use existing facilities such as the National Social Service to involve women students meaningfully in rural and urban, community service and thus improve their knowledge about and sensitivity to social, political and economic realities and simultaneously involve them in the service of society.

Extension and Continuing Education

Apart from helping to advance the futures of the girls enrolled in the institutions that they manage, women managers of higher education can use their position and the facilities at their command to improve women's access to higher education. The university enrolment of girls has increased from 748,525 in 1980-81 to about 1,367,495 by now. Nevertheless women constitute only 32% of the enrolment in higher education.

One of the simplest ways in which women managers can help improve this situation is to scout enrolment through promotional programmes targeted at girls about to finish high school. These programmes must not only encourage girls to enter universities and polytechnics but also persuade parents to provide their daughters with the support needed.

In view of the fact that girls' access to higher education is often restricted by the fact that they live in rural areas and towns that do not have colleges or universities, it is necessary to increase and improve hostel facilities for women. The UGC is highly apprised of this and provides liberal grants for hostels for women. But, these grants are not fully utilized as there is considerable difference in the matter of running hostels for girls. Training courses for women managers of higher education could fulfil a much felt need by equipping women to start and to run hostels for women students. In view of the fact that many girls have to cut short their education or opt out of higher education altogether because of early marriage, motherhood, or residence at places far away from institutions for higher education, women managers could make a valuable contribution by developing programmes for continuing education, by developing correspondence courses and self-instruction programmes for women.

All this requires a sharp sense for what is relevant education, a dynamic, open and unconventional approach to knowledge and to skills, and a capacity to employ this creatively. Training courses must help women managers develop this open approach and stimulate their creativity.

Although women managers of women's institutions are best situated to implement the suggestions made so far, women in positions of management at co-educational institutions can also make substantial contributions in the same directions. In fact, they can make their own distinctive contribution by making men students aware of gender discrimination and sensitizing them to its injustice. Similarly they can help to bring into co-educational institutions fields like nutrition, textiles and garment manufacture and food processing. Now these are almost exclusively taught at Colleges of Home Science or polytechnics meant exclusively for women.

Administration and Promotion of Women's Studies

Another major contribution that women managers of higher education in India are particularly well-placed to make is to the growth of Women's Studies. Higher education in India is extraordinarily well endowed with facilities for the purpose. It is already ten years since the University Grants Commission granted special programmes in Women's Studies at about thirty different universities and other centres of higher education in the country. This action on the part of the UGC has been further reinforced with help for these programmes from various ministries as well as international bodies such as the Ford Foundation and IDRC (Canada). Unfortunately, the returns are not commensurate with the investments made. Discussions with members of a UGC Review Committee which is currently writing its report on the matter indicate that the programmes suffer from lack of monitoring and of leadership. Where programmes in Women's Studies have been successful, they have yielded research findings and analytical insights that have value far beyond considerations of gender equity. For instance, they have changed some of the age-old concepts used in Economics and Demography. They have also enabled teachers and students to touch reality in a manner rarely possible through courses and syllabi of the traditional kind.

There is interest and eagerness to develop Women's Studies, but there is no doubt that women managers of higher education in India need to provide the leadership and the guidance required to advance Women's Studies in the country. Training courses for them must help them fulfil this responsibility. In this connection, it is important to recognize that it is not enough to promote Women's Studies at Departments of Social Science and of Humanities, as is currently done. Feminist research has revealed some startling facts about women and nutrition, women and health, women in relation to housing and shelter, women's relationship to the environment and so on. From the conceptual analyses, empirical research and writing in these areas it is clearly evident that the gender dimension must not only be recognized but carefully covered in courses such as Medicine, Nursing, Architecture, Engineering, Management and the Environmental Sciences. Training courses must, therefore, equip women managers from all the several fields of higher education to develop Women's Studies in the fields in which they function.

Conclusion

We have listed some of the ways in which women managers of higher education can make a distinctive contribution to the enrichment of higher education in the country. We have also tried to indicate how their participation could be increased and made more effective. But, it would be simplistic to say that men or women managers in higher education in India today can achieve much unless efforts to improve their capabilities are accompanied by some basic structural changes in the system and by a concerted effort to halt the politicization which dominates the system. It would, therefore, be appropriate to conclude this paper with a strong recommendation that training courses for women managers must alert them to their responsibilities in this direction, and guide them on how they can present a united front so as to bring about the structural changes required and to reduce political intervention.

APPENDIX I (a)

Responses of Principals to a Self-Confidence Scale
Requiring Them to Specify the Extent to which the Items Listed Apply to Them

	Item	MALES (N = 22)			FEMALES (N = 100)		
		To large extent	To some extent	Not at all	To large extent	To some extent	Not at all
1.	Lack self-confidence in ability to do my job	5	27	68	8	16	76
2.	Unable to produce satisfactory quality of work	5	18	77	8	25	61
3.	Inadequate skills and knowledge	5	41	54	6	38	57
4.	Have difficulty in disciplining subordinates	14	36	50	5	45	50
5.	Unable to influence and persuade people	5	27	68	4	36	60
6.	Lack of confidence in putting forward my point of view	34	36	50	9	35	56
7.	React too emotionally to a work problem	9	55	36	14	48	38
8.	Unable to cope well in conflict situations	14	23	54	11	38	51
9.	Unable to be successful	0	23	77	8	22	70
10.	I am unclear about career prospects	5	36	59	14	22	64
11.	I have a feeling of being undervalued	5	36	59	13	34	53
12.	Feel I have to perform better at my job than colleagues of the opposite sex	4	10	36	28	33	39

Note: Figures are in percentages.

APPENDIX I (b)

Distribution of confidence scores for females, males and the total group

Scores	Females	Males	Total
16 - 18	1 (1)	0 0	1 (.82)
19 - 21	0 0	0 0	0 0
'22 - 24	6 (6)	3 (13.65)	9 (7.38)
25 - 27	14 (14)	2 (9.1)	16 (13.12)
28 - 30	25 (25)	3 (13.65)	28 (22.96)
31 - 33	34 (34)	11 (50.05)	45 (35.9)
34 - 36	20 (20)	3 (13.65)	23 (18.86)
	100	22	122
Mean	30.32	30.22	30.30

APPENDIX II

1. "Key Issues in Higher Education" cover: the national context, policy and programme of action, women's education, education, employment and entrepreneurship for women; role and identity of women administrators and their empowerment, role of women in national development, science and technology for women.

2. Institutional Planning covers: Objectives of the institution and perspective planning; linking institutional plans with development plans at state, regional and national level; status, profits and data base for planning; short-term and long-term plans for the institution; departmental planning; programme and activity planning; plan implementation and feedback.

3. Administration covers: Familiarity with rules, regulations and status; fundamental procedures of purchase, writing off departmental inquiries, stock verification; constitution powers of functioning of various committees, management of lands/properties/estates, management of stores and supplies; use of computers.

4. Finance Management covers: Budgeting, funding and accounting mobilization of resources, grants; financial committees, procedures, powers maintenance of accounts, preparation of statements, monitoring pensions, taxes, provident funds, cash flow, port-folio and analyses.

5. Personnel Management covers: Procedures for recruitment, promotion and transfer, fixation of service conditions, maintenance of personal records, service bodies, performance appraisal, staff development and welfare, handling of pressure dynamics and obligation.

6. Academic Management covers: Curriculum planning, teaching planning, introduction of new courses, new methods of teaching, managing libraries, time tables, evaluation.

7. Student Affairs covers: Student admissions, eligibility, migration, transfer equivalence, student discipline, academic and personal counselling, vocational guidance, enrichment programmes, extra-curricular programmes, hostel management, student representation, student unions, scholarships, loans, identification of student needs, conducting remedial programmes for weak students.

8. Linkages covers: involving students and teachers in identifying the needs of the community and contribution to its development, establishment of linkages with local bodies and voluntary agencies, interaction with UGC and State Universities, utilizing the services of other academic bodies like the Academic Staff Colleges, College Development Councils. Utilization of materials from international sources such as UNESCO and the UNDP.

9. Self-Development covers: Management of change, exercise of authority and decision-making, equality, identity and self-concept, communication skills and interpersonal skills, managing home and work interface, management of time and pressure, delegation, team-building.

Reference

Chitnis, Suma. "Women's Studies in India", in Gail Kelly and Sheila Slaughter, eds., *Women's Higher Education in Comparative Perspective*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, 1990.

INDONESIA

INDONESIAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

E. Mariana Setiadarma

If I am not for myself, who will be for me?
If I am for myself only, what am I?
If not now, when?

Babylonian Talmud

Introduction

The year 1978 was a landmark year for the progress of Indonesian woman. In that year, women's constitutional status and social rights were outlined explicitly in the National Guidelines for Development. For the first time, the government stressed the role of women in the development of the nation by establishing a national post entitled: Junior Minister for the Role of Women. By 1983, this position had been upgraded to Minister of State for the Role of Women.

The State Philosophy Pancasila and the State Constitution assure equal rank and rights to women as creatures of God. This basic law confers the same rights, duties, and opportunities for women and men.

Historically, the shaping of the role of Indonesian women has gone through a long process. In the political arena, a few Indonesian women in former centuries reigned as queens. For example, in the 4th century, **Tribuana Tungga Dewi** and **Suhita** once governed the Majapahit Empire, one of the most respected empires in the archipelago. During the Dutch colonial period in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, some Indonesian women joined Indonesian men in the armed forces to fight against the colonial power. Among the outstanding women were **Martha Christina Tiahahu, Nyai Ageng Serang, Cut Nyak Dien** and **Cut Meutia**.

The challenge for Indonesian women now is quite different. Women struggle more in cultural and domestic activities rather than in the political domain. Women's aspirations tend to improve living standards and accede to higher education.

Some of the outstanding women involved in improving their fellow women's status through education were Kartini from Jepara, Central Java, (1879-1904),

Nyai Ahmad Dahlan from Yogyakarta, Central Java, **Maria Walanda Maramis** from North Sulawesi (1872-1924), **Dewi Sartika** from West Java (1884-1947), and **Rasuna Said** from West Sumatera (1910-1965).

Such historical figures prove that Indonesian women began their struggle for advancement centuries ago. The struggle continues until now, moving more swiftly since it is no longer based only on domestic life.

Work Opportunities

According to the data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Indonesia had a population of 179,400,000 in 1990. Of the total number, 89,500,000 (49.89%) were men while 89,900,000 (50.11%) were women. Projections for the year 2005 predict that there will still be a larger percentage for women, that is, 111,680,000 or 51.10% women compared to 111,508,000 or 49.9% men. It is generally accepted that the number of women will decrease slowly in the years to come.

Table 1

Percentage of Male & Female Population

Year	Female		Male		Total	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
1990	89,900,000	50.11	89,500,000	49.89	179,400,000	100
2005	111,680,000	51.10	111,508,000	49.90	223,188,000	100

Source : (Jakarta: BPS, 1990)

However, the fact that women outnumber men does not mean that their participation in the labour force is greater. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, projections for participation in the labour force by gender indicate that the proportion of women will increase, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Projection of Male & Female Labor Force

Year	Female		Male		Total	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
1988	28,450,000	37.4	47,630,000	62.6	76,080,000	100
1993	41,900,000	38.8	66,100,000	61.2	108,000,000	100
1998	46,230,000	40.2	68,770,000	59.8	115,000,000	100

Source : (Jakarta: BPS, 1990)

In 1988 the total number of women in the work force was 28,450,000. This number represented just about half of the number of men. By 1993, the number of working women is expected to be 41,900,000 and increase to 46,230,000 by 1998. These comparative figures were based on the assumption that the total labour force will grow by 56.62% (average percentage from 1985 up to 1989, from Table 3) from the total population. Clearly the percentage of women in the labour force will rise annually, although their representation is still lower than that of men.

Table 3

Labour Force Participation Rate 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989

Year	Total Population	Labor Force	%
1985	164,629,618	87,253,697	53.0
1986	168,347,515	96,463,126	57.3
1987	172,009,540	98,733,476	57.4
1988	175,588,836	101,139,169	57.6
1989	179,136,110	103,540,064	57.8

Source: (Jakarta: BPS, 1990)

Regarding women's contribution to the labour force, it is not enough to study the figures for the Labor Force Participation Rate. We also need to consider the quality of the participation. Table 4 shows that the greatest proportion of working women are still in the blue collar sector. However, while the proportion in that sector is decreasing, the proportion of women in the professional and expert fields is rising more than that of men each year.

Table 4

Percentage of the Labour Force Population by Type of Work and Sex, 1971-1980, and 1985

	Work	Female					Male				
		1971		1980		1985	1971		1980		1985
1	Profesional (decrease/ increase)	4.10	(-0.78)	3.33	(+0.61)	3.94	6.47	(-3.53)	2.94	(+0.50)	3.44
2	Administration (decrease/ increase)	1.60	(-0.16)	1.44	(+0.48)	1.92	4.22	(+0.29)	4.51	(+0.55)	5.06
3	Service (decrease/ increase)	18.15	(+7.51)	25.66	(+1.19)	26.85	11.87	(+1.33)	13.20	(+0.55)	13.75
4	Blue Collar (decrease/ increase)	76.15	(-6.58)	67.57	(-2.28)	67.29	77.44	(1.91)	79.35	(-1.60)	77.75
	Total	100		100		100	100		100		100

Source: Analisa Situasi Wanita Indonesia, 1988

Participation in Education

Limited opportunities in the labour force can be horizontal (type of work) and vertical (possibilities for reaching the top). Both types of limitation have powerful implications for women's participation in the field of education. This is evident when we compare the levels of education of males and females (See Table 5).

Table 5

Women's Participation in Education

Education Age Level	5-6 years Kindergarten		7-12 years Elementary		13-15 years Jr. High School		16-18 years Sr. High School		19-29 years Higher Education		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Attending School	399,731	361,474	12,055,231	12,795,739	4,082,782	4,487,180	2,494,868	2,957,809	1,059,750	1649,803	20,092,362	22,252,005
No Schooling	3,254	1,752	345,364	425,703	1,950,821	1,828,085	3,270,974	3,076,175	14,264,441	12,494,427	19,834,854	17,826,142

Source: Education Statistics: Survey on National Socio-Economics, 1989

Table 5 shows that fewer women than men participate in education at all levels. The proportion of women to men decreases as the level of education increases. Young marriages, especially in villages, for women under 20 years old explain the increasing drop in women's participation in education after elementary school. Besides, before they reach the age of 20, many women have to work to help provide for the basic needs of their families.

The low level of women's education beyond elementary school, especially in the fields of science and technology, substantially narrows down their opportunities to benefit from job openings. In addition, the low education level also lessens their effectiveness as mothers and educators in their families. Without sufficient knowledge in science and technology, it will be hard for these women to understand the needs and problems of their children in school and to give them proper guidance. In any case, the progress of our people depends on greater expertise in science and technology.

The Teaching Role of Women

By nature, women are educators. Usually, it is a woman's role to educate her children. The womb is the initial phase of a person's life. The development and intelligence of a fetus is substantially influenced by its mother.

The renowned psychoanalyst, Carl Gustav Jüng, believed that a persons's whole psychic life and health spring from the relationship with his or her mother. Children's relationships with their mothers are more influential than with their fathers. The mother's mental attitude plays a central role. Jüng attached special importance to the symbol of the mother. He believed that the initial phase of people's development is connected to their attachment to their mothers. Throughout life, a mother helps her children during their studies. Usually, the mother plays a more important role in her children's academic success and usually encourages them to achieve a higher educational level. The fundamental relationship between mother and child promotes the child's progress and mental development and becomes the source of a his or her happiness.

Women as educators extend beyond family life. Quite a number of Indonesian women have also become teachers in institutions of higher education. Table 6 shows that the total number of women who have become teachers in state institutions of higher education is 13,640 or 22.8% of the total of 59,684 full or part-time teachers. In private institutions there are even less women: 14,898 or 18.3% of the total of 81,410. This means that out of the total of 141,094 higher education teachers, only 28,538 or 20.2% are women.

Table 6

Number of Institutions of Higher Education and Teaching Staff in Indonesia

Owner	Institution					Teaching Staff					
	U*	I*	S*	A*	Total	Female		Male		Total	
						Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Private	212	43	329	240	824	14,898	18.3	66,512	81.7	81,410	100
State	30	14	2	2	48	13,640	22.8	46,044	77.2	59,684	100
State + Private	242	57	331	242	872	28,538	20.2	112,556	79.8	141,094	100

* Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989, and Directory of the Private Institutions of Higher Education, 1990.

Table 6 shows the number of teaching personnel, full-time and part-time, in state as well as private tertiary educational levels, but neglects the fact that this personnel may teach in two or more institutions. The table gives a picture of the levels of participation of women and men at the tertiary educational level.

Table 7 demonstrates that, in both state and private institutions, the percentage of women who teach full-time is greater than those who work part-time. Women may work as teachers in two or more places as part-timers. It is difficult for a woman to teach full-time at one place and part-time at another, as, in addition to teaching, she has to attend her children at home. Usually, household duties have priority over teaching responsibilities for Indonesian women. The teaching profession is often pursued only to supplement family income, rather than as a challenge for one's talents or interests.

Table 7

Number of Part time and Full time Education Staff in State and Private Institution of Higher Education

Owner	Institution					Teaching Staff					
						Full-time			Part-time		
	U*	I*	S*	A*	Total	M* +F*	F	%	M* +F*	F	%
State	30	14	2	2	48	38,910	9,650	24.80	20,774	3,990	19.2
Private	212	43	329	240	824	28,680	5,248	18.30	52,730	9,122	17.3
St. + Pr.	242	57	331	242	872	67,590	14,898	22.04	73,504	13.112	17.8

* U = University S = School M = Male
I = Institute A = Academy F = Female

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989.

In Tables 6 and 7, we see that the percentage of women teachers is far lower than that of men. The participation of women as teachers drops as the level of education rises. The data in Table 8 shows that the percentage of women teachers becomes smaller at higher levels. The percentage of women teaching in Elementary Schools is 36.4%, whereas, at Junior High School, the level drops to 24% and by the Senior High School level, it is only 18.4%.

Table 8

Female and Male Teachers according to levels of education

Levels of Education	Teacher					
	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Elementary	392,711	36.4	685,881	63.6	1,078,592	100
Junior High School	90,587	24.0	286,025	76.0	376,612	100
Senior High School	46,371	18.4	204,525	81.6	250,896	100

Source: Institute of Research and Development, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1990

Women in Higher Education Management

Table 9 demonstrates a similar situation when we look at the role of women in management at institutions of higher education. Table 9 shows that there are very few women presidents compared to their male counter-parts. Out of 212 private universities only 4, or 1.9%, have women as presidents.

Table 9

Women at Top Management of Private Institutions of Higher Education

Institution		President					Dean				
Type	Total	Female	%	Male	%	Total	Female	%	Male	%	Total
University	212	4	1.9	208	98.1	212	63	7.0	827	93.0	890
Institute	43	3	7.0	40	93.0	43	10	6.7	138	93.3	148
School	329	23	7.0	306	93.0	329					
Academy	240	14	5.8	226	94.2	240					

Source: Directory of Institutions of Private Higher Education, 1990

From the above analysis, it is clear that women's level of participation in the management of tertiary institutions is not yet strong in terms of quantity. From the quantity perspective, there are still very few women who hold important positions such as dean of a faculty or president of a university. The achievement and performance of those who have taken such positions reflect their quality as educators. There are several factors which hinder the advancement of a woman's career in higher education. In addition to the socio-cultural factors mentioned in Section 6, the low level of women's participation in higher education constitutes one of the strongest constraints for women's participation in higher education management. Table 5 shows that the percentage of women's participation in education drops as the education level rises. At elementary and high schools, women's participation still compares favorably to men's. However, in higher education, it is far lower. A low level of education is one of the most decisive obstacles to a career in management of higher education for women.

Constraints to Women's Advancement in Management

In Indonesia, there are still constraints preventing women from achieving success. People generally believe that men are considered superior to women. In everyday life, there are invisible expectations that are different for men and women.

There is also a belief that a boy should be agressive, independent, and become a provider for the family. On the other hand, girls are expected to be refined, sensitive, gentle, and possess other similar qualities which are considered feminine. Generally, people see men as providing the necessities of life, thus to work outside the home. On the other hand, it is generally accepted that women are managers at home, serving their husbands and children.

As a result of these norms, men have far more opportunities than women in many cases. So, couples want baby boys more than girls. In some ethnic groups in Indonesia, the birth of a boy requires a certain celebration from the family. Only boys can pass down the tribal membership. In the patriarchal society of Indonesia, women have only small rates. Usually, it is the man who is head of the family. The power and opportunities of the family are in the hands of men.

Such views are evidently sexist and mean that gender-based differences exist. According to a researcher on the role of women at the University of Indonesia, Syarifah Sabaroeku, the gender which holds the power is classified as the norm. The other gender is considered passive, lower and obedient to the norm. In a patriarchal society with a sexist orientation, the feminine gender is subordinate, while the masculine is superior and dominant. In this subordinate position, women can become targets for abuse by the opposite sex.

Another factor which weakens the position of women -quite unconsciously- is the marriage proposal system in certain rural areas in Indonesia. In this system, the man effectively "buys" the woman he is interested in marrying. The choice of marriage partner is entirely the man's.

Another obstacle to women's advancement are factors within women themselves. These intrinsic factors are described in "The Psychology of Women" by Judith Bardwick who considers that women's reluctance constitutes the ultimate obstacle.

Sexual discrimination in the work place is a fact. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons for women's low productivity is their own reluctance to become more professional.

Perhaps the most fatal "internal" obstacle which keeps a woman cornered and prevents her from becoming her full self is what Colette Dowling calls "The Cinderella Complex". This attitude consists of the psychological dependence of a woman who wants to be taken care of and protected by another person. Perhaps this attitude is the last and the most paralyzing challenge for women today. Dowling sees this dependency as a sort of network of attitudes and fears which makes young women feel pressured. Such an approach can be fatal since a woman lacks enough courage to fulfill her own creativity and to realize her own aspirations.

The French author, Simone de Beauvoir, pictures woman as a creature who assumes a submissive character and attitude only to avoid the tensions of authentic existence. So, it is not surprising that women have been regarded as the "second sex".

Such conditions make it hard for women to develop, because they do not even dream of achieving the potential they have, simply due to their inability to overcome the anxieties intrinsic in the process of full development. It can be concluded that women themselves seem to help prevent their own advancement. If we look at the number of Indonesian women who are considered to be equal to men, the final challenge has to do with the will of the women themselves. It is clear that this is their greatest challenge.

Limitations to Women's Participation in Higher Education Management

Indonesian women have to face three types of limitations: limitation in entering the labour force, limitation in the choice of work, and limitation in career development. According to Edy Priyono, in his article "Women of the Future" (Kompas, 1991), the obstacles the women face do not come from the law but from the social norms which tend to place women in subordinate positions. In such situations, the limitations are real challenges because the prevailing situation is based on prejudice and discriminatory attitudes. Over a long period, these attitudes have been strengthened by the submissive attitudes of women themselves. This submissive attitude makes it difficult for women to assert themselves, and it also explains why women have little access to decision-making positions in professional organizations and public institutions.

Statistics give evidence of the low level of women's participation in decision-making. According to the latest information from the Minister of State's Office for the Role of Women, in 1985 only 69 women, or 7.5%, were members of the MPR (Lower Chamber) while 42 women, or 9.1%, were members of the DPR (House of Representatives). These figures are very low since women constituted 50.3% of the population in that year. Today there are only two women ministers among the 38 cabinet members. Women who hold leadership positions in national organizations are 846 or 5.5% of the total.

These figures show that the number of women who hold decision making positions is low. The same situation holds true in the management of higher education. Table 9 presents only the 1990 data. Yet, according to the latest information from the Ministry of Education and Culture, in the year 1992, only 44 women (4.8%) were holding positions as presidents in the 914 private institutions of higher education, including academies. Among the 212 private universities, there are only four women presidents or 1.9%. In the 49 state institutions of higher education, there is only one.

However, as stated in Section 6, the obstacles and limitations regarding women's participation in the management of higher education are due to several factors. Among others, there are the lower level of education, socio-cultural norms, family factors and factors intrinsic to women themselves.

Prerequisites for Woman's Participation in Higher Education Management

Intrinsic and extrinsic factors affect the participation of women in higher education management. Among the former factors are (a) managerial aptitude and competence, and (b) formal education. The latter factors are (a) formation of cadres through leadership training and internships, (b) socio-cultural factors and family situations, and (c) women's organizations.

1. Intrinsic Factors

(a) Managerial Aptitude and Competence

In the social context outlined above, there are several prerequisites for any woman who wants to join or who is already involved in management at tertiary educational level. She has to have leadership ability which includes firmness and openness to discussion. Moreover, she needs to have above-average managerial ability. These two prerequisites can only be gained through working experience. Only by experience will it become clear whether a person can become a good manager. One needs long and extensive managerial and administrative experience in the world of education to become such a person.

Some feminine characteristics can be positive factors. In problem-solving, women can lessen conflicts. A woman has patience in decision-making and conscientiousness in seeing the details of problems.

(b) Formal Education

A woman's natural ability or competence will be wasted if she does not have a certain degree of higher education. Every step up on the management ladder requires also a step up in educational level. This is the greatest problem faced by Indonesian women managers, especially in the field of higher education. Table 5 shows that the percentage of women in higher education is still far below that of men. Nevertheless, formal education at the tertiary level is a very important prerequisite in order to succeed in the management of this sector.

This problem is not the responsibility of women alone. It is the responsibility of society as a whole and the responsibility of every Indonesian family. Society at large and parents in particular must see that the right to higher education is equal for daughters and sons alike.

2. Extrinsic Factors

(a) Leadership Training in Higher Educational Management

One of the major extrinsic factors for women educators who want to advance their managerial careers in higher education is the political will of the university or institution of higher education to implement a well-developed plan for further education and on-going training at every level of the career ladder.

On the one hand, the institutions of higher education should have the political will to create opportunities and to provide leadership training for women educators who have managerial abilities. This training should include a selection process to see if she is determined to be a good leader and manager. On the other hand, the candidate (the potential manager) needs to have the courage to accept the opportunities at hand.

(b) Socio-Cultural Norms and Family Situations

The competence of a woman and her right to opportunities are contested by society in general, and by the family in particular. Her family, especially her husband and children, need to support her advancement. A husband should be able to accept the advancement of his wife to find her own identity and to shoulder part of the family burden, especially financial responsibilities, which is normally the man's domain. In this case, the woman who wants to pursue a management career in higher education faces an enormous challenge if she has married at a young age. This needs to be underlined because many young married women plunge directly into raising their children.

Society's resistance to women's advancement cannot be taken lightly. Openness will only come as a result of a long process which must begin at the family level. Mothers need to teach their children positive aspects of women and men's equality. These aspects must be actually practised in the home and will gain a wider audience in generations to come.

(c) Women's Organizations

The phenomenon of individualism threatens Indonesian society today, especially in urban society. We need to restore a conciliatory attitude which we call *gotong-royong*. This means working together with consensus. With an individualistic approach, women cannot make much impact on Indonesian society's patriarchal tendency. *Gotong-royong* is based on indigenous culture. It can help Indonesian women overcome the limitations in their society.

Gotong-royong, which is still strong in rural areas, needs to be included in the women's organizational structures. Through these groups, Indonesian women can speak in one voice and become more effective in promoting women's interests.

Women's groups can take many forms. They can be professional or parochial, based on the place of residence or on the place of origin. The initiative to form these organizations belongs to women themselves. Besides these organizations, there are federations at the national level. These organizations and federations must offer women more opportunities for high-level decision-making positions.

Thus, it can be concluded that ways to top management in higher education for women still require a slow and long process. It is a process of evolution, not revolution. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the rapid progress of communications which provide data on common world trends in every field, the process could be faster than predicted.

Conclusion

This article shows that the role and participation of Indonesian women in the management of higher education resembles that in other professions. In higher education as well, women's participation in management is still too low.

To overcome limitations and obstacles, and to gain ground in the management of higher education, institutions must give opportunities to women educators who have the desire and ability to develop their qualifications in this field. The women themselves have to be ready to undertake well-planned leadership training. Only then will Indonesian women experience advancement in the management of higher education.

Compared to former times, the new generation of Indonesian women has greater access to education. This has been done in part to the inspiration given by certain outstanding and well-advanced Indonesian women who have acted as role-models.

Today, the development process has acknowledged women's value for society. So women can become highly qualified managers, holding significant positions in educational institutions. However, development has brought problems of its own. A profession, as teacher or professor or manager of an educational institution, demands time and attention. Sometimes this places a woman in a situation where she has to choose between her family and her profession. As a mother, a woman must place her husband and children before her other work.

In facing such problems, a woman has to be wise. She is not married to her profession but married to her husband and is a mother to her children. Because of this, the challenge to Indonesian women in general and to woman educators or managers in institutions of higher education in particular, is not to compare themselves to men but to find their own place in society. This process may take time but it should be the course to follow.

Bibliography

Bardwick, Judith. *Psychology of Women: A Study of Bio-cultural Conflicts*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Biro Pusat Statistik. *Indikator Sosial Wanita Indonesia* (Social Indicatior of Indonesian Women). Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1988.

Congress of Indonesian Women. *The Role of Women in Development: the Indonesian Experience*. Jakarta: Kowani, 1980.

Dowling, Colette. *The Cinderella Complex: Women's: Hidden Tear of Independence*. New York: Summit, 1981.

Jüng, C.G. "Anima et Animus" in *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology: Collected Works of C.G. Jüng*. New York: Bollingen Foundation/Pantheon Books, 1953.

Mukmin, Hidayat. *Beberapa Aspek Perjuangan Wanita di Indonesia: Suatu Pendekatan Deskriptif-Komparatif* (Some Aspects of Women's Struggle in Indonesia: A Descriptive and Comparative Approach). Jakarta: Bina Cipta, 1980.

Teather, David C.B. *Staff Development in Higher Education*. London: Kogan Page, 1979.

Tjokrowinoto, Moelyoto, Prof. Dr. et.al. *Analisa Situasi Wanita Indonesia* (Analysis of the Indonesian Women's Situation). Jakarta: Kantor Menteri Negara Urusan Peranan Wanita, 1988.

Walsh, Mary Roth. *The Psychology of Women: Ongoing Debates*. New Haven, London : Yale University Press, 1987.

MALAYSIA

WOMEN MANAGERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA[*]

Asmah Haji Omar

Background Information

Higher education as referred to in this paper means university education. Malaysia now has seven universities for a population of about 18.5 million people. The eighth university will be established in 1993.

The oldest is the University of Malaya which was formerly a branch of the University of Malaya in Singapore, but became a fully-fledged university in its own right in 1962. The second university to be built on Malaysian soil was the National University of Malaysia (**Universiti Kebangsan Malaysia**) which came into being in 1970. After that, other universities were established in succession. Six of the universities are financially supported by the government and are subjected to the Universities and Colleges Act of 1974. This Act provides the guidelines for the management and the administration of universities. The seventh university is the International Islamic University which is financed by Malaysia and various Islamic countries. This university was established under its own charter and is not bound by the Universities and Colleges Act.

All the universities are co-educational. Most of them reflect a proportionate balance between the sexes in the student population as well as in the academic and administrative staff. In the former group, for instance, there seems to be a tendency for a majority of women in certain departments. This state of affairs is not due to a discrimination against either sex but a reflection of the convergence of interest of the men or the women in the disciplines of their choice. For example, in the academic year 1990/1991, out of a total of 111 students in the Faculty of Education of the University of Malaya, 102 were women. In the same year, in the Faculty of Engineering of the same university, there were 655 men as against 102 women.

An almost similar picture is reflected in the gender division of the academic staff. For example, in the Geology Department of the University of Malaya in 1991/1992, out of 15 full time staff, only two were women. At the Language Centre, which teaches 18 languages from all over the world and offers post-

---

[*] The author thanks the offices of the Registrars of the University of Malaya, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and Universiti Pertanian Malaysia for the data on their universities used in this paper.

graduate courses in Language Studies, there seems to be a lower proportion of the men staff members (44) compared to the women (103), out of a total of 147.

University Management

University management involves the management of the personnel and general services, finance and the academic staff. General, financial, and personnel management places the university together with other corporate bodies; but it is the academic management that sets it apart from these same bodies.

In the true sense of the word, academic management means the administration of the necessary courses offered and of research undertaken, as well as the development of expertise. From this aspect, academic management overlaps with financial and personnel management because the smooth running of academic affairs depends on a healthy financial situation as well as on a sufficient qualified and able personnel.

Academic managers are expected to have a vision of the direction their departments are taking in terms of the advancement of knowledge, as well as in terms of the relevance of their programmes vis-a-vis the needs of the community. In this way, they are expected to provide leadership for their staff.

All this goes to show that academic managers are not only required to be skilled in managing a department, a faculty or an institution of that nature, but they also need to portray a high level of academic experience and achievement. Short of this, it will be difficult for them to command the respect of those below them, and they themselves will feel uneasy in the academic leadership that is expected of them. They must also be farsighted enough to be able to plan for future development. This will not come easily if they themselves do not have the necessary expertise.

Women in General Services, Personnel and Financial Management

Over the years there has been an increase in the number of women recruited as assistant registrars in the various universities in Malaysia. An increase is also noticeable in the number of women serving as financial assistants. They belong to lower level management.

Many of the universities now have women deputy registrars and deputy bursars. These are the people in middle management. At the University of Malaya (UM) at the moment, there seems to be more women assistant registrars than men. This being the case, there is a great likelihood that in future, there will be more women deputy registrars than men. The trend may become evident in other universities.

The following statistics at the UM show that there have been fewer men than women in this sector over the last few years.

	Men	Women	Total
1988-1989	80	99	179
1989-1990	75	95	170
1990-1991	71	98	169

Elsewhere, there seem to be fewer women than men in management positions at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and University Pertanian Malaysia (UPM), although there has been an increase over the years in the intake of women. However, this increase seems to be offset by a similar increase in the intake of men. For example in 1986, UKM had 21 women administrators as opposed to 48 men. The figure for 1992 shows that there are 23 women against 50 men. At the UPM in the same year, there were 14 women administrators as opposed to 63 men.

The UKM and the UPM are "younger" universities compared to the UM. It may take some time before the number of women and men in the management area finds a balance in these universities. Moreover, the UPM was originally an agricultural college which trained technical and field specialists in farming and where the students were all men. It was only when the college was upgraded to university level that women students were admitted, and with them women administrators.

The emerging trend of having a greater number of women than men as university administrators at the UM is not caused by discrimination against men, or a preference for women on the part of the authorities who have been entrusted with the responsibility of recruitment. Rather, there seems to be a greater volume of applications among women for the posts of assistant registrars. This trend leads to a greater increase of women as they go up the management ladder. The table below shows the intake of administrators at the UM from 1965 to 1992, according to gender.

Gender/Year	1965	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
M	0	1	2	3	0	0	1	1	1	1
F	1	1	3	2	3	3	0	1	2	2

Gender/Year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
M	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	4	6	0
F	0	1	2	5	8	1	2	4	8	1

Gender/Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
M	2	0	0	1	1
F	1	0	1	1	0

If the University of Malaya statistics can be taken as an indicator of future trends, then university management in Malaysia may no longer be dominated by men. Instead, there will be a balance of the distribution of men and women, and in some instances there will be more women than men. The reason for this mainly lies in the university service itself which is not as attractive in terms of vertical and horizontal mobility of the staff compared to services in the public and private sectors.

The university service is a closed system. It does not lead anywhere beyond the precincts of the university campus. This means that a person recruited as an assistant registrar or a financial assistant stays with the service until retirement. The hope is just to move up the steps in the hierarchy.

As vertical mobility is restricted within the university one is attached to, so is horizontal mobility. In other words, if staff wish to be transferred to another place of work, even without having to be promoted, for example, to another university or another research institution within the country, there is no such thing as automatic transfer. One has to apply to be released by one's current employer before taking up the post offered by the prospective employer. If the new place of employment is another university, a government department or statutory body, one may get a release with not too much difficulty and one's past record of service is transferred to the new office. However, if the business or private sector is the destination, the release may not come so easily. More often than not, the person concerned has to resign from the university or take early retirement before start up the new post.

The Malaysian Civil Service is a more open system compared to the university. In the first place, it provides horizontal mobility, because a civil servant may be transferred from one ministry to another, thus gaining a variety of experience. With this horizontal mobility comes the vertical mobility, which provides more room for promotional prospects than in the university service.

Women university managers may be said to represent a class with less concern for horizontal mobility. What they look for is stability or even permanency in their work. To be transferred from place to place is a big concern for them especially if they are married and have school-age children. The general rule among Malaysians is that the wife follows the husband. If the husband gets transferred to another town, his wife goes with him. But the reverse is still rare.

Outlook of Women University Managers

Assistant registrars are recruited from among those with a Bachelor's degree, and they enter the university service after the completion of their first degree. They have no prior training for their job and usually they feel lost at the beginning. What they get is on-the-job training from their seniors, and from time to time they are given short in-service courses and are allowed to attend relevant seminars.

The assistant registrar may also wish to move upwards to become deputy registrar and, perhaps, to be registrar. However, among the deputy and assistant registrars interviewed, there does not seem to be a burning ambition in them to achieve this level.

The reasons are manifold. The first lies in the realisation that there is only one registrar's post possible in any university. Competition is great and there has always been this feeling among the women that the man is always the favoured species in this game. This is a belief ingrained in most oriental cultures. One woman who is a senior deputy registrar at the University of Malaya, stated, "We have accepted it as a fact."

Secondly, the university service is a closed system, and suits the women well, especially the married ones. There is no likelihood of a transfer from one university to another, which may mean a move from one part of the country to another. This promise of permanency of the work place gives the women a sense of stability. Coupled with this comes the sense of stability in the management of their own households and that of their children.

So far there has been only one woman appointed to the post of registrar. This appointment was made in 1991 at Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang.

Application for the post of registrar is in response to an internal advertisement. The successful candidate is one who satisfies the requirement stated. In future years, it may happen that with the increasing number of women deputy registrars, there will be more women applicants for the post of registrar in the various universities in Malaysia.

Women Managers in Higher Education

Generally speaking, culture may explain, at least in part, why women lack a burning ambition to rise to the top. One cannot categorically say that the Malay, Chinese or Indian women of Malaysia do not have the ambition to be at the top of the ladder in their professions just because it is in their culture to play second fiddle to the men. The scenario projected by the academics seems to show that culture has never been a constraint in their efforts to achieve their ultimate goal to be at the top. This can be attested by the rise of women academics in number, particularly of women associate professors, over the last few years, as shown below.

University of Malaya

		1988-1989	1989-1990	1990-1991
Professor	M	59	59	60
	F	6	11	10
Associate Professor	M	237	274	263
	F	77	118	103

The decrease in the number of professors and associate professors in 1990-1991 was due to retirement and resignation.

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

		1988-1989	1989-1990	1990-1991
Professor	M	18	36	40
	F	-	1	2
Associate Professor	M	113	131	207
	F	10	17	55

Universiti Pertanian Malaysia

		1982	1992
Professor	M	18	28
	F	-	-
Associate Professor	M	63	116
	F	5	25

The number of women professors in the various universities is still very small compared to men. But this is due to history. In the early days of university education in Malaysia, very few women entered the university as students, and hence, initially, very few were qualified to become lecturers. However, over the years the situation has changed, as more and more women are entering academic life.

The proportion of men and women at the professor and associate professor level is set to change in time. The statistics of the lecturers' posts in the various universities show that the number of women lecturers is catching up with that of the men. The increase in the number of women in the academic posts may in time to come also generate an increase in the number of women deans, directors, heads of departments, and chairpersons of divisions. These are the academic managers.

To some extent, one can say that the attitude of the university leadership towards women has made it possible for more and more women to occupy the lower and middle rungs of academic management, that is, to be chairpersons, heads, deans and directors. In other words, most of the universities in Malaysia seem to reflect a positive attitude towards having women in such positions.

Women are appointed to these posts despite the existence of male colleagues, even in departments where men outnumber women. All this goes to show that these women are deemed to have the ability and the capacity to manage at the levels under discussion.

In 1982, the Senate of the University of Malaya had a membership of 10 women (about 8 per cent) out of 126 men. Now, out of a total 178 members in the Senate, 34 (about 19.3 per cent) are women. The Council and the Court of the University have always had women members who represent various bodies, although their number has never equalled that of the men. The chairmanship of the Board of the University Hospital of the University of Malaya has, for the last nine years, been occupied by two women in succession. In 1992, for the first time in the history of the University of Malaya, the Senate elected a woman to be one of its two representatives on the University Council. And, the Senate members, as indicated earlier, are mainly men.

The choice of women to be academic managers is usually based on their seniority in their department or faculty. First-time appointees may not have the experience, but this is compensated by other attributes, such as seniority in the work place, congeniality and the ability to handle work-load.

Academic managers usually have no prior training in management. They carry out their responsibilities by trial and error. In the administration of their departments, faculties and centres they seek advice from those in the registrar's or the bursar's office.

Most of the universities conduct in-house training in academic management from time to time. If the managers are lucky, they are able to attend a seminar or a workshop on some aspect of management during their two-year term, either locally or in institutions abroad. Those who get their term of office renewed are able to learn through experience and improve their skill as they go on to the next term of appointment. These are the people who finally emerge as very skilful managers.

Selection of University Managers

There seems to be no feeling of prejudice in the appointment of women as assistant registrars and financial assistants by the powers that be, namely, the interview boards and the University Council. The same is true for the appointment of deans, directors, heads and chairpersons by the Vice-Chancellor.

The picture, however, is different for positions in top level management. So far, there has not been a single woman Vice-Chancellor. The highest level that a woman has been able to reach is the position of Deputy Vice-Chancellor. To be specific, only the University of Malaya has managed to appoint a woman to this post, and that was only from December 1983 to November 1986.

This state of affairs is not due to the fact that there are no capable women to take up these high-level posts. The reasons do not usually lie in academia or management, as will be discussed below.

The appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is made by the Prime Minister's Office at the recommendation of the Minister of Education. This person is chosen from among serving or retired professors or civil servants. One can see that in this choice many factors are taken into consideration. The qualities that are looked for are the candidates' stature as academics, their expertise in management and their ability to lead. Among these qualities, there is also the requirement that they have to be aware of and render their support to the ideology and aspirations of the government of the time.

The Deputy Vice-Chancellors are appointed by the Minister of Education at the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor. They are chosen from among the serving staff. However, lately, there have been cases where Deputy Vice-Chancellors are taken from among retired professors and retired civil servants. The criteria for the choice of candidates to be Deputy Vice-Chancellors are similar to those used in the selection of Vice-Chancellors.

Like the Vice-Chancellor, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor may or may not have training in management. This can be said categorically of those who rise via the academic ranks. If they have any knowledge of management at all, it is through their experience at the lower and middle rungs of academic management. In top level management, they too have to grope their way through, and are lucky if they are supported by experienced registrars and bursars.

The Vice-Chancellors and Deputy Vice-Chancellors who are taken from the Civil Service and the corporate sector may have an advantage over those taken from the academic service in one respect, that is, their experience in management. On the other hand, they may face a disadvantage in that they may not have enough experience in the academic world to enable them to give the intellectual leadership required.

The practice of appointing corporate managers and civil servants to be Vice-Chancellors and even Deputy Vice-Chancellors may in the long run deprive the women of any available opportunity to rise to the top, because there are very few women corporate managers in the country. Statistics show that women form only 8.3 per cent of the administrative, executive and managerial workers in the country (**Gender Statistics in Malaysia 1992**). If the practice of taking corporate managers and top civil servants to lead the universities is implemented to the extreme, the academic men within the system may also be deprived of a chance to be at top level management in the universities. A logical conclusion is that the highest management posts available for men and women academics are those of deans of faculties and directors of centres.

The trend mentioned above has triggered off public fora in the media on the suitability, or otherwise, of academics to lead their own institutions. An article in a leading Malay newspaper, **Utusan Malaysia**, on the 27th of July 1992, seems to put the blame on the academics themselves, who (according to the writer of the article) are more concerned with their narrow fields of specialization than the bigger world of management. However, the article gives a most succinct conclusion: it points to the fact that the universities which are currently led by civil servants and corporate experts themselves do not seem to show an efficiency level that is higher than those which are led by academicians. This lies in the fact that although such managers are trained in management *per se*, they do not have the working experience as academics, and, as said earlier, are not able to give the academic leadership that is also expected of them.

In a simplistic way, one may say that the main reason for the lack of women at the top level management lies in the fact that there are not many posts at the top. The few that exist are reserved for the men within the university circle or those brought in from outside; this seems to be the unwritten rule. This rule or attitude seems to link to the backdrop of male domination in the society. Since those who hold the authority of appointing the Vice-Chancellors and the Deputy Vice-Chancellors are themselves men, this suspicion becomes strong.

The reason for not considering women as Vice-Chancellors and Deputy Vice-Chancellors has never been made known. One can only conjecture that there is still a prejudice towards having women in the very top positions. Such a prejudice may not be confined only to the psycho-cultural make-up of Malaysian men. This attitude may exist with men everywhere. Malaysian men may in general still have the stereotyped picture of women being too emotional and subjective, and are thus not able to be managers at the top. At the same time, there is no apparent show of concern among the women for not having their gender appointed as Vice-Chancellor, Deputy Vice-Chancellor or Registrar. Yet, at the same time, they are willing to acknowledge the fact that there are suitable women candidates. It may be that the women themselves are still subservient to the idea that those important posts should only be held by men. This may be related to the acceptance of the superiority of men which, as said earlier, is culturally ingrained in them.

Lack of experience in management among women cannot be taken as an excuse, because the men at the top are themselves lacking in this type of experience when they first take up those posts. In a nutshell, the women are as experienced as the men.

In the same manner, standards of academic achievement cannot be taken as an excuse for not appointing women to the top, to occupy the post of Deputy Vice-Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor. There are as many women in the Malaysian universities who have the qualifications and expertise to be appointed to these posts. Coupled with this, there are women in the university circle who are able to provide academic leadership to make the university a centre of excellence. Furthermore, there are as many women as there are men who are able to withstand the rigour and the stress that usually come with heavy and high-level responsibilities.

The selection of Vice-Chancellors has become a major concern of academics who for most of the time are unaware of the candidate chosen until they read an announcement to that effect by the Ministry of Education in the press. There have been requests from time to time from Academic Staff Associations of the various universities for the government to appoint a search committee for the selection of Vice-Chancellors. This has not materialized yet. A search committee is considered to have knowledge of a large pool of candidates and may come up with a list of candidates who are suitable for the post. These may include women.

Women Managers in Other Sectors as a Comparison

The culturally-conditioned belief that points to the superiority of men came to the fore in the mid-eighties when a woman high court judge was going to be appointed. There was resistance to her appointment in certain sectors of society. However, reason and better judgement were able to weather the opposition and Malaysia was able to appoint its first woman judge. The second woman judge was appointed in 1991.

Further progress was made in 1991 when a woman Director General of Education - the first-ever woman Director General at the ministry level in the country - was appointed to head the Ministry of Education. This ministry, like other ministries, has many women at the lower and middle level management but not at the top. There have been one or two women Deputy Director Generals in the Malaysian Civil Service so far, and one or two Director Generals at a slightly lower level such as at the National Archives and the National Library, and, some years ago, at the National Family Planning Board. (These last three are divisions of particular ministries.) Early in 1992, another step forward was taken when a woman was appointed to the post of Secretary-General at the Ministry of Justice. This is also the first woman ever to be appointed to this post in any ministry.

At the moment, Malaysia has two women cabinet ministers and two deputy ministers. In fact, women ministers have been appointed to the Cabinet since 1964. At that time, there was no woman at the top level management in the ministries or at the University of Malaya, which was then the only university in existence. This indicates that it is easier for a woman to be cabinet minister than it is for her to get appointed as Vice-Chancellor of a university or Director General of a ministry.

Women in politics have the backing of their party members, particularly from among the female populace. Besides that, they have their constituencies (that is, if they are Members of Parliament) which can form pressure groups to project them upwards. For the continued support of its women members, the leadership of the ruling party is obliged to appoint women ministers and deputy ministers. This is an advantage that women in politics have over those in academia or the Civil Service.

Arguably, the number of women ministers and deputy ministers is still very small. Yet, there has not been a hiatus in their appointment since 1964. That is to say, at any single period of time there is at least a woman minister or/and a woman deputy minister. In contradiction to this, there has not been another woman Deputy Vice-Chancellor appointed in the whole country since 1986, when the only woman appointed to the post so far completed her term of three years.

However, the situation of women at the middle and lower levels of the management hierarchy is not an exclusive feature of universities. It is also a feature of the Civil Service. It even pervades programmes run by ministries as attested by the findings of Fatimah Daud on women's participation in community development (Fatimah Daud, 1992).

Absence of Networking Among Women Academics

In both politics and academia, there are lobbyists who have their networking. In the case of the former, these people have a trump card in their lobbying, namely their support for the party and finally their votes.

As far as the academic milieu is concerned, networking among the men may be seen, if it appears at all, in the objection to or even obstruction of the appointment of women Vice-Chancellors and women Deputy Vice-Chancellors. On the other hand, there is no networking among the women to counter that of men. What is apparent here is that women, through women's organisations, are ready to fight for social injustices such as low pay and discrimination in getting jobs. But they have not shown their readiness and willingness to fight for women to lead, especially in the academic context.

In comparison with men, women have not yet come to terms with networking for the purpose of going to the top. This is not to say that they are not capable of networking at all. In the Malaysian situation, it is a well-known secret that women carry out networking for their husbands and male relatives. The reason is simple: they are willing to carry out this activity if they are the direct beneficiaries.

The university is a gathering place of people with various trends of thought, including opinions on women. As has been proven in many instances, the men, and in very few cases, the women, have been able to get their views across to the authorities, who hold the power, so that they will appoint candidates to posts. As far as these authorities are concerned, there are no voters nor constituencies to answer to when they decide not to appoint a woman. Again, no answer is required to be given to the students or the staff of the university for the non-appointment of women to the top, even if there are women who are able to do the job better than their male counterparts.

Women Managers and Vision 2020

It has been shown that there is apparently no prejudice against having women managers in higher education as long as they occupy only the lower and the middle levels of the management hierarchy. However, there seems to be a reluctance, if not an aversion, towards having women at the top level management for reasons already discussed.

The refusal to appoint a woman to a top post, even if she is available, is an indication that reality has no place in such a consideration. This avoidance of reality is usually accompanied by a rationalization which aims to justify the step taken. And such justification may turn out to be unfair to women: they sabotage the truth, and may have a negative rather than a positive effect on society and the nation. This does not augur well for the progress of the country. In the Malaysian context, reality avoidance does not tally with the vision that the Prime Minister has for Malaysia in the years to come.

In February 1991, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir, launched an ideology which is now known as Vision 2020 (Mahathir bin Mohamad, **Malaysia: The Way Forward (Vision 2020))**. This vision aims at developing Malaysia into an industrialised country by the year 2020.

According to Vision 2020, Malaysia must develop in all its dimensions - economic, political, social, spiritual, psychological and cultural. To achieve all the goals that have been defined, the Prime Minister emphasizes that "the most important resource of any nation must be talents, skills, creativity and will of its people". He goes on to say:

> "We cannot but aspire to the highest standards with regard to the skills of our people, to their devotion to know-how and knowledge upgrading and self-improvement, to their language competence, to their work attitudes and discipline, to their managerial abilities, to their achievement motivation, their attitude towards excellence and to the fostering of the entrepreneurial spirit."

Those high standards cannot be achieved if the skills, competence, abilities and motivation of women are ignored, and are allowed to go to waste. In the spirit of Vision 2020, there has to be a change in the attitude towards women and their suitability to be at the top of the management ladder in the universities. The practice of confining those top positions to the men, just because the men must "get the post", may lead to the choice of people who are not up to the mark, but who defeat their women colleagues only because of their gender.

The appointment of the woman Deputy Vice-Chancellor at the University of Malaya in the 1980's was made possible due to the attitude towards women of the then Vice-Chancellor and the Minister of Education. This positive attitude may also be attributed to those in high authority who had made possible the appointments of the women judges, the Director General of Education, and the Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice. All this means that not all men are unenlightened as to the managerial ability and leadership of women. Above all, the attitude of giving due recognition to a valuable resource - women - is a necessary requirement for achieving the goals of Vision 2020.

Bibliography

Fatimah and Hasnah Daud (1992). *A Case Study of WID Programme*, an unpublished report submitted to HAWA and World Bank.

Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1980-1985.

Gender Statistics in Malaysia 1992 Unit of Women and Human Resources Studies, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Minden, Penang, Malaysia.

Mahathir bin Mohamad, *Malaysia: The Way Forward (Vision 2020)*. Working paper presented by the Prime Minister at the Inaugural Meeting of the Malaysian Business Council, 28 February, 1991.

Sieh Lee Mei Ling et al (1991). *Women Managers of Malaysia*, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Calendar, 1987-1989.

University of Malaya Calendar, 1988/89, 1989/90, 1990/91.

Universiti Pertanian Malaysia Calendar, 1987/89, 1988/89.

Universiti Teknologi Malaysia Calendar, 1987/88.

Universiti Utara Malaysia Calendar, 1989-1990.

NIGERIA

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT: THE NIGERIAN CONTEXT

Grace Alele Williams

Introduction

Education for women has not been easy in any region of the world. The accesses are so narrow that it would seem that they are almost impassable. Women bear the brunt of educational discrimination in the face of parental poverty. Equal opportunities for both male and female off-spring are non-existent. In some cultures, it is even taboo to educate female children because they are expected to be available for early marriage to elderly but affluent suitors. The money thus realized as bride-price and presented to in-laws is used for the education of the male siblings, since they are the ones to retain and propagate the family name. By this practice, females' access to education is delayed in favour of their male siblings and sometimes it is completely ignored. World population figures as recorded by UNESCO in 1988 indicated that 63 per cent of illiterate persons were female. This further highlights the degree of discrimination against women's education.

This unfortunate practice ensured that females remained many paces behind their male counterparts in terms of education and all the opportunities that go with it. Where parents had means, women were encouraged to pursue only professional courses such as nursing, teaching, catering and the like, which place them a little above the kitchen level, or at best, at the middle management level before retirement age.

By the middle of the first decade of the 20th century, a sense of awareness swept through a handful of women who felt there was the need for enlightened women to re-examine their goals and aspirations so that the need to move them to high management positions could be pursued. There is no avoiding the fact that the fastest and surest way to hold managerial positions in all walks of life, including higher institutions of learning, is through the attainment of a high level of education. The higher the level of education, the better the chances of reaching top management positions. Compared to men, only a very small percentage of women have acquired the level of education that is necessary for the attainment of management positions in higher education institutions and other areas of human endeavour. Even then, these few who are armed with the requirements needed to move into managerial positions do not find it easy because of sexual identity. As expected, the male, who has come to see himself as the superior being, intellectually, mentally and physically, was not ready to hand over his "birthright" to this new breed of women on a platter of gold. They therefore set out to place obstacles to ensure that as far as possible, women were not allowed into the elite club of top level management. Most females, faced with uneducated parents, poor career guidance, early marriages and child-bearing, ignorance, poverty, sex discrimination among other things do not get the right education to prepare them for management careers. The few who, despite the above obstacles, do get the right kind of education to prepare them for a career in management have a whole new range of obstacles to overcome on their way to the top.

A Survey of the University of Benin and Nigeria

Universities, the apex of educational institutions, are able to provide skilled and professional personnel for the civil service, private sector organizations and business concerns. Thus they contribute in no small measure to the economic growth and political re-shaping of nations. High level manpower in most countries is often initially developed in the universities.

However university education has always favoured men. The number of women who hold academic and administrative positions in universities are fewer than their male counterparts. This has therefore resulted in the small number of women who eventually occupy policy-making positions in the universities. The trend has recently become of great concern to many women who are agitating that women should be given the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to development and to be part of policy-making bodies.

A programme to examine the problem of small numbers of women in policy-making positions and top executive posts was initiated at a meeting in Toronto in 1985 by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to address the various factors contributing to the problem. As a follow-up, the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) held local workshops in Bombay, India, in 1986 and 1988, for the training of potential women leaders in the skills of university management. Eastern and Southern African Universities were represented at the meeting. The need to get some ideas of specific conditions in the West African region has resulted in this survey which is focused on the University of Benin, Nigeria.

All the female academic and administrative senior members of staff of the University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria formed the subject of the investigation. Questionnaires were drawn-up and the information volunteered by these women highlighted the constraints to female education in Nigeria, problems women face in acquiring professional and academic posts, the type of skills women need to be good administrators, problems of women holding administrative posts and the training women need to be appointed to administrative positions.

Gender distribution among academic and administrative personnel in the University of Benin is shown in Table 1.

Table I

Staff Statistics of the University of Benin (1992)

Posts	Sex		
	Males	Females	Total
Academic	553	94	647
Non-Academic	428	153	581
TOTAL	981	247	1,228

Statistics show that there are 1,228 Senior Staff members in the university. Further analysis of the academic staff strength shows that all the 59 Full Professors are males. 35 Associate Professors include 31 males and 4 females. However, the Vice-Chancellor is a female.

247 female senior staff (both academic and non-academic) were interviewed and 217 completed the forms which were analysed. The various answers given by the women are presented in Tables II to XI.

Table II

Factors having negative effects on women's access to education in Nigeria

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Preference given to education for males	191
2.	Early/Child/Forced marriages (for religious, cultural and economic reasons)	160
3.	Sex-Stereotyping in responsibilities and careers	132
4.	Belief that women do not perpetuate the family name	86
5.	Poverty	76
6.	Lack of proper education of parents	46
7.	Early/Unwanted Pregnancy	26
8.	Child Labour	12
9	Sexual harassment	12

Table III

. **Factors which exclude women from high professional and academic achievement**

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Child bearing/rearing	139
2.	Discrimination by male counterparts (sex discrimination)	134
3.	Innate and psychological habits of taking second place (negative self-image of females)	122
4.	Societal/Domestic responsibilities	114
5.	Lack of understanding from husbands	23
6.	Economic reasons	23
7.	Sexual harassment	12
8.	Societal pressures on single women which distract from professional pursuits	4

Table IV

What being a woman means in the area of managerial achievement

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	It means hard work	133
2.	It means a woman has to face the problems of insubordination from men	124
3.	It means a woman has to be more committed to the job	75
4.	It means nothing since women are naturally managers	35
5.	It means excellence, uprightness, honesty and competence	34
6.	It means firmness	34
7.	It means more responsibilities and extra challenges	32
8.	It means a woman needs the goodwill of her husband and family for any managerial achievement	22
9	Managerial achievement means progress for a woman	7

Table V

Coping with femininity and career achievement

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Proper planning/organisation	136
2.	Skill/tact/a good sense of judgement	130
3.	Assistance from domestic help	28
4.	Having a small family	58
5.	Competence	48
6.	Assistance/co-operation from husbands	48
7.	Effective time-management	28
8.	Honesty	22
9.	Prayers	2

Most of the women (188 out of 217) admitted that coping with femininity and career achievement was a difficult task for a woman. It was therefore important for a woman to set her priorities right. Most of the women felt that femininity should not be sacrificed for career achievement and vice versa.

Table VI

The different skills women can develop in order to be recognized for administrative posts

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Organizational skills	141
2.	Hard work/competence	132
3.	Firmness/consistency	117
4.	Self-confidence	92
5.	Reliability/Uprightness/Honesty	91
6.	Good personal relationships	73
7.	Leadership skills	68
8.	Self-discipline	49
9.	Objectivity	16
10.	Accommodation/endurance	15
11.	Commitment	12

Table VII

The different types of skills women need to have on the job

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Training (ongoing training through conferences, workshops, seminars and managerial courses)	192
2.	Computer skills	82
3.	Adaptation and learning on the job	72
4.	Firmness	46
5.	Hard work	46
6.	Tolerance	34
7.	Lobbying power	52

Table VIII

Women's needs in order to achieve rank in their professions

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Higher education	178
2.	Hardwork	176
3.	Self-determination	96
4.	Discipline/confidence	70
5.	Encouragement/promotion when due	69
6.	Self-projection (needs to publicize all her achievements)	58
7.	Firmness	44
8.	Good public relations	44
9.	Stable homes/family support	232

Table IX

Needs of women aspiring to leadership roles

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Intellligence/Knowledge/Excellence	150
2.	High level of competence	142
3.	Confidence	84
4.	Accommodation (tolerance, endurance, patience, fairness)	76
5.	Imitation of male behaviour	76
6.	Exposure to leadership roles	62
7.	Moral stability/stable homes	58
8.	Good human relationships	55
9.	Honesty	34
10.	Ability to lobby	2

Table X

Reasons for identifying key women for key positions

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	Academic/Professional achievements	164
2.	Hard-work/Competence	154
3.	Intelligence	130
4.	Good human relationships	94
5.	Experience (age and maturity)	72
6.	Personality/Appearance	58
7.	Comportment	40
8.	Honesty	26
9.	Accommodation (Patience/tolerance)	22

Table XI

Assistance needed from other women

	217 Responses	Agreement
1.	By organizing fora to inform women about positions that they can hold in society (Conferences, Seminars, Workshops, other organizations)	162
2.	Identifying and interacting with women groups	148
3.	Identifying and seeking assistance from women experts and women who have been successful	78
4.	Consultation with role models	44
5.	Mutual support among women	26

The survey showed that there are many factors which have negative effects on women's access to education in Nigeria.

It emerged that most of the women who have access to education are prevented from high professional and academic achievement because of problems of child bearing and rearing, discrimination by male counterparts and their own negative self-image. Few of those interviewed mentioned sexual harassment as a factor. Nonetheless, this issue has to be addressed by the management of every institution.

On the issue of skills needed to attain managerial posts and cope with femininity as well as career achievement, most of the women said that it was important to acquire good academic qualifications and work harder on request. Ongoing training and interaction with role models also enhance the status and position of women.

Competence and task achievement as the basis for establishing relationships with men at work, whether these be bosses and subordinates, are also vital. The establishment of good relationships and rapport among fellow women and our male counterparts should help pave the way for easier advancement.

Some Lessons for Women Managers in Higher Education

It therefore follows that, at every stage, the woman is faced with specific problems which she must tackle with all vigour if she hopes to make it to the top. Her career needs are much more cumbersome than those of her male counterparts. A male armed with good education, skills and experience is right on his way to the top. But a woman, in addition to the career needs listed above, must build up her self-confidence and mental alertness, demonstrating a willingness to confront problems. The process of managing the roles and responsibilities of wife, mother and career woman is both daunting and demanding.

However harsh it sounds, the woman who enters a management career and decides to have children, is faced with a task that is almost unmanageable if she does not secure the understanding and support of her husband. The women who could not place their allegiance in two places has to abandon their careers and some, their homes, so that they could have a fulfilled life of their choice.

The technical, administrative skills and competence of the career woman must necessarily outweigh that of the man because, as a woman, she needs to demonstrate not just a higher degree of competence than the average man but she also needs to maintain very good inter-personal relationships in order to win and keep the respect of her peers and subordinates. This she could do effectively by socializing as often as possible and by being active in women's groups. By this means, she could acquire new knowledge, skills and experiences that will either up-date or enhance old ones.

Being fully prepared for a management position, a woman realizes that, at this level, the job is really that of co-ordination and leadership of other people and this requires the ability to trust, depend on and delegate power to others - in particular to one's peers and subordinates. It means being able to motivate them by creating an atmosphere that is open enough for them to work and develop. Beyond this, a woman needs to be available to subordinates in a way that allows them to feel free to come for help, advice and support. She coordinates the work of her peers and subordinates in the various departments and sees to it that whatever is done is related as effectively as possible to the objectives laid down by the governing authorities. It is primarily for this much broader task that she is held accountable. Because she did not get this position easily, she must be firm, upright competent, responsible, hardworking, with good interpersonal skills. Equally, she must be assertive yet sympathetic and motherly; morally stable, confident and yet objective, disciplined and dedicated. The male manager does not necessarily need to arm himself with all of these attributes. However, for a woman, her managerial and leadership role is not easily acceptable to the community.

The experience she acquires while at the supervisory level broadens her skills, knowledge and competence that prepare her for the broader and less precise role of decision-making. It is known that learning on the job through experiential involvement develops a woman's social skills and this makes her become a better and accepted leader, as she is able to assert influence, negotiate better and gain more confidence. Also, some positive or even negative experiences develop the woman's cognitive skills such as the ability to identify problems, analyse them and take appropriate decisions.

At every stage or level, the woman must realize that, as a woman, she has to work twice as hard as her male counterparts and face stiffer opposition and criticism. There is this stereotyped assumption held by men, that under pressure, when criticized, or censured, women get emotional and lose control. A woman occupying a managerial position should therefore be very conscious of this assumption and make sure that her emotions are constantly held in check, so that, in any situation, she should be very relaxed and allow her sense of judgement, initiative, perseverance, determination, integrity and foresight to rule and direct her. These qualities are more bestowed on women by nature than men but if they are not properly developed, nurtured and applied, their possession will not be evident. She should express hostility tactfully and never be shattered by defeat if it arises, for defeat is one of the new experiences expected at management levels. It helps her to understand the necessity at times to make unfavourable decisions, especially if it is for the greater good of the institution.

Decision-making is one area of management which easily arouses criticism because of its wide-ranging impact. This is why problem identification, problem analysis and the techniques of problem-solving need to be studied and up-dated on a daily basis. The special quality which distinguishes a competent woman manager in higher education institutions from the rest is the willingness to solve problems as they occur and the ability to anticipate where they may occur in the future. A complex aspect of management in general, this becomes much more complex in institutions of higher learning because the student body is at its post-formative stage. Therefore a careful study of the tradition of the institution is most helpful. Decision-making and implementation drive all management functions in institutions of higher learning. The manager, who has passed through the rank and file of the management levels, must have acquired enough experience, knowledge and competence to be logically equipped well for the top. But, for a woman, it is not that easy because the gender problem must be overcome. The ability to socialize and regular attendance at seminars, conferences and workshops can help tighten-up loose ends. The woman manager should solicit the support, help and advice of other women as this can be very helpful in times of crises. Membership of collective women's social groups can be a critical source of information and guidance as well as support for a woman who is managing an establishment that is predominantly made up of male peers and subordinates who are ready, at any time, to challenge her right to be there.

Conclusions

In this paper I have tried in this paper to highlight the needs and difficulties of the career woman who, despite numerous constraints, was able to make it to the top. But this paper would not be complete without bringing in some personal experiences which, in themselves, have served as references for the production of this paper. The acquisition of skills and movement to the top was not an easy process. Yet, with hardwork and the desire to succeed, I was able to overcome the various problems. Also, the skills and level of competence required for the top were not obtained without effort. Establishing a working relationship with my peers and subordinates was even harder. Although male colleagues recognized that highly qualified women exist, they were not ready to give the expected support, help and advice when needed.

The determination to succeed in an exclusive male preserve was the key factor. Moreover, I was competing with them in a system they understood better and in which they were far more comfortable and much more familiar. At this level, the challenges of supervision, decision and policy-making as well as of leadership depend greatly on the ability to trust and to delegate power to others. In my experience, this called for a very careful study and assessment of behavioural processes of peers and subordinates. Trusting and delegating power to the wrong people would invariably lead to the failure of the system. The work of planning the day-to-day management of the institution needed to be handled by an excellent team, which had to be carefully and personally selected. Planning covered a wide range of decisions, including the clarification and identification of specific procedures to be used in the daily running of affairs. This is why the team in charge of this function has to be properly assessed. Also, there was the job of issuing instructions, motivation and establishing normal personal relationships with peers and subordinates. Some managers do not have the ability to delegate actual responsibility to subordinates. This was where I encountered my initial difficulties as a Vice-Chancellor. But, with my early training and experience acquired over the years in dealing with human resources, I was able to assess, choose and delegate authority to my team of administrators and academics.

There are various management styles. The style that works for one person might not necessarily work for another. Thus, finding the management style that worked for me was another uphill task. After trying out a number of methods, I was able to select the most effective and result-oriented. I am happy to say that this has worked very satisfactorily for me during the past seven years.

PERU

THE WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PERU

Gladys Buzzio Zamora RSCJ

Introduction

Peru is an underdeveloped country in Latin America which is going through one of the most agitated and deeply critical periods in the whole of its long history. That is why most of the news coming out of Peru nowadays is dramatic. This article has enabled us - although it was not what we originally set out to do - to pinpoint some of the elements which might help to explain the conflictual situation at present reigning in the country. We see these factors in the light of the evolution of women's access first to education, and, subsequently, to the administration of education.

Women's access to the administration of higher education in Peru has, so far, been limited to a very few isolated cases. These can be construed as individual victories, meritorious indeed; or, better still, as the first results of a lengthy maturing process which got off to a late start.

Traditionally, the administration of higher education in Peru has been entrusted to men. Equal access to this responsibility, for women as for men, will put an end to centuries of absurd, unfair discrimination. Women, having the same potential as men, should be given equal opportunities and achieve equal rights, in practice - not only in theory.

Moreover, in practical terms, the access of the Peruvian woman to the direction and administration of higher education institutions will benefit the country as a whole as well as the institutions themselves, and will make it possible to avoid two mistakes at present being committed with negative results:

- the first, which we will call the "alpha" mistake, is that, when deciding between a male and female candidate who have the same academic and managerial qualifications, the man is still preferred - because he is a man - and the woman is relegated - because she is a woman. The repeated committing of this mistake shows the persistence of the lack of equal opportunities, and at the same time this unfair discrimination maintains and foments the discomfort and resentment felt by a growing sector of women in our society;

- the second, which we will call the "beta" mistake, occurs when a woman whose academic and managerial skills are recognizably superior to those of a male colleague, is denied the opportunity of becoming the director of the institution, simply because she is a woman, thus depriving the institution and the country of the chance to benefit from this person's talents.

Evidently, no one aims to overcome centuries of discrimination by placing women in the adminstration of higher education institutions just because they are women, regardless of their academic and managerial capabilities. What is being sought is, in the first case, a real and effective situation of equal opportunities for men and for women. And, in the second case, a situation whereby women, recognized for their high qualifications, are allowed to give their institutions - and society as a whole - the first-rate help so badly needed.

History of the Participation of the Woman in Peruvian Society

All evidence points to the fact that for thousands of years, up to and during the Inca Empire, the different social groups living in the territories of present-day Peru were eminently male-oriented. It is a well known fact that during the Inca Empire the task of the *amautas* (masters) was to teach the young sons of the imperial elite. Among the young women, a chosen group - the *acllas* - were taught the skills of fine weaving, and the preparation of food and beverages for consumption in the imperial court and during religious ceremonies. Not more than 0.1% of the female population received this kind of training.

After the Spanish conquest, during the colonial period, the first signs of any Government concern to promote women's education were seen in 1726. That is to say, two hundred more years had gone by with women being completely ignored and relegated in the field of education. In 1726 this situation was questioned for the first time, and it was suggested that women should be given new roles in the colonial society. The idea grew and matured, but very slowly.

It was not until 1822 that, for the first time in Peru, the Libertadores San Martín and Bolívar proposed that school education be made available to girls as well as boys. The first schools for girls were opened in 1825 in Cusco and Lima.

By the year 1840, there were still very few schools for girls, and these were poorly attended. The main obstacles were recorded as being: a) the need for more teachers, and b) the reluctance of the parents to send their daughters to school.

In 1855, the General Regulations for Public Education explicitly recognized for the first time the right of the female population to be educated, and their right to secondary education, a privilege which had so far been limited to boys. It should be noted that two illustrious women played an outstanding part in achieving this objective. They were Teresa Conzales de Fanning and Elvira García y García.

In 1876, the first Teacher Training School was founded, filling a lacuna which had been felt for a long time in the country. Nuns from the Congregation of the Sacred Heart were entrusted with organising and directing the school. The congregation had been invited to Peru by President Manuel Prado, who appreciated the excellent education given to his sisters in France and has sought to make this available in his own country. The first group of nuns to arrive was headed by Mother Purroy.

In 1901 the Organic Education Law recognized the right of women to enter university. Some years later (in 1908), the Peruvian woman was allowed to apply for university degrees and titles.

It should, however, be pointed out that all of these victories had been designed and implemented to benefit the little girls and young ladies belonging to the dominant, privileged social sector of the country's population. In effect, women's access to primary, secondary and university education benefited less than 10% of the female population of Peru. So that, in practice, over 90% of Peruvian women remained outside the scope of these benefits.

In an attempt to correct, albeit partially, this serious discrimination, in 1905 the Peruvian Government declared primary education compulsory for boys of 6 to 14 years and girls of 6 to 12 years of age. But, as with many other government regulations, this "compulsory" measure was a dead letter, because Peruvian society would in any case be unable to comply with it: there were not enough schools and, in many cases, even where schools did exist, there were thousands and thousands of families who could not afford to send their sons and daughters to school.

For that reason, only three decades later, in 1933, it was declared that primary education would be free. Nevertheless, and after several decades of being in force, this regulation is seen to be nothing more than a noble declaration of intent. Its objectives have not yet been fulfilled even today, considering the deplorable, truly calamitous and precarious condition of many thousands of school classrooms all over the country: lacking desks, blackboards, roofs and plumbing. And with teachers who, in their immense majority, are earning approximately one hundred dollars a month.

It is true, however, that the 1930s did see the beginning of the process of mass incorporation of children - boys and girls - into the educational system. After centuries of deep and extensive discrimination against women, it was not until 1933 that equal opportunities for access to education began to exist in Peru.

On the other hand, this was admittedly only an apparent equality. Among those boys and girls who now had access to education for the first time, some had ten to fifteen generations of forebears who had been to school and university, while others had ten to fifteen or more generations of illiterate ancestors. The results could not be the same; even more so, bearing in mind that the former group had a stable job virtually waiting for them in the most advanced economic and productive sector of Peruvian society; while, on the contrary, the latter, and in particular the girls, were destined to help their parents with farmwork in the most backward sector of Peruvian agriculture - they were condemned to becoming illiterate through lack of use of the reading and writing skills they had learned at school.

The Present Situation

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that between 1940 and 1981, the following figures are recorded for the population of five years of age and over:

	Illiterate Population	Illiterate Population	Illiterate Population
Year	Total	Male	Female
	%	%	%
1940	60	41	59
1981	21	36	64

Although the illiteracy rate dropped considerably, the female component of the illiterate population increased in percentage.

This is borne out by the following figures, referring to the population of fifteen years of age and over:

Year	Illiterate Population Male %	Illiterate Population Female %
1940	45	69
1981	10	26
1991	4	17

The above figures are evidence that for this age group, the prejudice against access to education affected four times more girls than boys in 1991.

Seen from another perspective, it has to be taken into consideration that the Peruvian population is a highly heterogeneous one.

On the one hand, great differences in income mark the different sectors of the society. In this reference, in view of the difficult access to education in the Andean areas of Peru, and the fact that the peasant families do not see the benefits of educating their children reflected in the family economy, it can hardly be considered a simple coincidence that 100% of the illiterate population belong to the poorest levels of Peruvian society, corresponding to the peasant sector and/or those who have recently migrated to urban areas. Or that 100% of the children who belong to the higher income levels have their right to primary, secondary and higher education guaranteed.

Neither can it be considered a mere coincidence, Peru being a multi-ethnic nation, that 100% of the illiterates belong to the following ethnic types: native Andean, negro, and native Amazonian. While 100% of the descendants of European immigrants, former and recent, have full access to the different levels of education.

These two lamentable situations are, unfortunately, a result of the involuntary or deliberate concentration of educational investment in the cities, to the detriment of the rural areas.

It is no coincidence that, in 1961, of every 100 illiterate women, 24 belonged to the urban area and 76 to the rural area. Neither is it a mere coincidence that in 1981 Cotabambas, an Andean province located over 3,000 metres above sea level in the Department of Apurímac, with a primitive peasant economy, had 77% of its female population illiterate (the highest illiteracy figures in the country); and that Lima, Peru's relatively highest developed urban centre, registered an illiterate female population of only 8% (the lowest in the country).

The figures for 1991 show an illiteracy rate of 36.6% for the Department of Apurímac, still the highest in the country; and for Lima-Callao a rate of below 2%, which continues to be the lowest in the country.

In this connection, since it has become increasingly evident that the access to job opportunities (and all that this implies for the future of the individual) depends on education, and that opportunities for education (as well as other benefits) are only available in the cities, Peru's rural population has been flocking in huge numbers to the cities over the past few decades:

Year	Rural Population %	Urban Population %
1940	65	35
1985	35	65
1990	30	70

As already mentioned, the Peruvian Government has always favoured the cities to the detriment of rural areas. It should be added, however, that at the same time the coastal region has always been privileged in comparison with the

Andean Highland region. Thus, the population with the highest female illiteracy figures corresponds to the rural Andean Highland situation (Cotabambas, Apurímac), while the population with the highest literacy figures corresponds to the city-coastal environment (Lima).

Access to Primary and Secondary Education

Peruvian female children have achieved equal opportunities as regards access to primary education over the past hundred and sixty years. The overall figures prove this fact:

Primary school population

Year	Boys %	Girls %
1830	100	--
1940	60	40
1990	50 (*)	50 (*)

(*) Estimated

Historically speaking, almost a generation later, the mass incorporation of Peruvian woman into secondary education began:

Secondary school education

Year	Boys %	Girls %
1830	100	--
1940	64	36
1961	59	41
1972	57	43
1981	54	46
1990	50 (*)	50 (*)

(*) Estimated

Access to Higher and University Education

The following figures show that the mass participation of Peruvian women in higher and university education occurred a generation after their incorporation into secondary education.

Higher education population

Year	Men %	Women %
1940	82	18
1961	65	35
1972	63	37
1981	58	42

It is highly significant that the figure of 40%, showing females in primary, secondary and higher education respectively, was achieved, in each case, after a period of one generation, as the following summary shows:

Male/female distribution in the education system

Level	Year %	Women %	Men %
Primary	1940	40	(60)
Secondary	1961	41	(59)
Higher	1981	42	(58)

This proves, among other things, the enormous value of education acquired for the individuals who gained access to it. It is clear that the women who had primary education in the 1940s were the best promoters for their daughters to go on to secondary education. And those who received secondary education in the 1960s encouraged their daughters to acquire higher education. All of this, as mentioned, was being achieved simultaneously with the mass migration of the rural population to the cities.

The Demographic Explosion in Education

There were, then, several reasons for the explosive growth in the numbers of individuals who had gained access to some level of education in Peru. The figures on the following pages bear eloquent witness to this phenomenon. The percentage growth rates recorded for the 1940-1981 period were:

Population of Peru	288
Primary	418
Secondary	1,889
Higher	3,174

National and Student Population (in thousands)

Year	Population of Peru	Primary students	Secondary students	Higher education students
1940	5,060	1,830	178	31
1961	10,420	3,685	664	131
1972	14,122	5,801	1,674	336
1981	17,762	7,654	3,362	984

In Peru, as in many other countries, the immense majority of the students attend State schools or universities. For 1991, we have the following figures:

Level	Student population in State education %
Initial	82
Primary	88
Secondary	86
Higher (non-university)	57
University	66

It is pertinent, therefore, to consider and compare the development of the demand for State schooling versus the funding provided by the Peruvian Government for education.

- In the 1981-1990 period, the student population attending State schools or universities grew by 46%:

Year	Students (thousands)
1981	4,814
1990	6,735

- And yet, for the same period, it is officially admitted that the State's expenditure on education per capita dropped by 31%. The monetary unit in this table is the Peruvian Sol at its 1990 value:

Year	State expenditure on education (Soles per capita)
1981	74.8
1990	51.3

That is, as the Peruvian population's mass demand for public education increased, an ever decreasing percentage of resources were assigned to this sector. Two dramatic conclusions which cannot be ignored are:

1.- Regarding the explicit statements in the Constitution of Peru that education was compulsory and free, not only did these statements fail to be put into practice, but much stronger government determination is required to realize this objective.

2.- The objectives of Peruvian society did not coincide with those of the Peruvian Government. The latter's actions were not reflecting the interests or objectives of the former. This has created deep dissatisfaction.

These factors have contributed to conflicts besetting the country at present.

So, since the country's economy did not grow at the same rate as its demand for education, and the Peruvian Government did not give the needed resources to education, the explosive growth of the student population has meant that the quality of the educational services received by the students is becoming increasingly lower for the great majority.

Clearly, now that the quantitative objective of equal access to education for all social sectors of the country has been achieved, the next objective in this respect (an objective as yet implicit only) is to bring about, over the coming decades, a substantial rise in the country's educational level in qualitative terms. This will involve: improving the educational infrastructure, providing schools with more and better didactic materials, modernizing teaching techniques, raising the quality of the contents of the courses and adapting curricula to the different needs imposed by the extreme geographical dissimilarities between the country's regions and the changing state of development of the Peruvian economy.

Higher Education and University Education

So far there can be no doubt that over the past five decades education has become one of the most important objectives - if not the most important one - of the female population of Peru. This objective implies reaching increasingly high levels of academic excellence. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect the demand for university education and higher education in general to grow in the years to come.

The trends in the female population's growth in primary, secondary and higher education, as already shown, gave reason to believe that the same phenomenon would be seen at the university level. But this has not been the case:

Growth of the female population

Year	Population with higher studies		Population with university studies	
	thousands	%	thousands	%
1972	90	73	33	27
1981	327	79	88	21

Instead of the percentage of women receiving university education increasing, as was to be expected based on the historical data, it decreased.

This can be explained by the profound crisis in the Peruvian economy since the mid-1970s. In effect, on the one hand, the serious decrease in the country's gross domestic product (GDP) has been preventing university graduates from finding employment and an income level in tune with their expectations and with the effort they have put into their studies; and on the other hand, the drop in the incomes of thousands of families is preventing them from paying their children's university expenses.

Under these circumstances, the ancestral prejudices prevail: whenever a family, due to lack of funds, has to decide which of its children to send to school, the choice almost invariably falls on the sons rather than the daughters. When it comes to putting a son or daughter through university, the same criteria are used. Thus, under the present circumstances, vocational and aptitudinal variables are practically discarded, as thousands of young women have to renounce their application for university.

Female Vocations

This helps to explain the exaggerated increase in the female demand for:

a) Short careers (1 to 3 years), and,

b) "Female" professions (secretarial work, nursing, nursery school teaching, etc.).

Thus, hundreds of new centres for higher education have sprung up in the past decade. In view of the scanty resources lately assigned to education, these new educational centres are the fruit of private initiative and investment. It could hardly be otherwise. But unfortunately, since the State has a poor capacity for exercising effective control, the majority of the new centres for higher education leave much to be desired, as regards their infrastructure and implementation as well as the contents of courses and professional level offered.

For the rest, it must be pointed out that the present (but temporary) preeminence of the highly advertised female vocations and short careers masks Peruvian society's tendency towards macho hegemony.

The New Educational Profile of the Peruvian Woman

The veritable avalanche of mass access to education has brought about a drastic change in the educational profile of the Peruvian woman. From being a society with almost 70% of its women illiterate in the 1940s, Peru in the 1980s had progressed to being a country where 77% of the female population had completed primary education at least.

Educational profile of the female population (%)

Year	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education
1940	69.27	28.00	2.52	0.21
1961	55.78	36.59	6.54	1.09
1972	38.39	46.66	12.76	2.19
1981	22.02	51.18	21.10	5.70

The change in itself is eloquent and significant. And, more important still, it helps us to understand some of the most relevant facts in contemporary Peruvian society. However, the table below will be of even greater help to understand the conclusions that follow it:

Rate of increase in Peru's student population (1940 - 1981)

Level	Men	Women
Primary	3.54	5.17
Secondary	16.09	23.64
Higher	23.58	75.15

Although it is true that the process of mass incorporation of the population into the educational system has benefited the great majority of the Peruvian population over the past five decades, it is quite clear that the benefit has been significantly higher for the female sector, particularly in the case of access to higher education (including university education).

With these figures before us, we would be wrong to think, then, that access to education was a gift freely given by Peruvian society to its women. A gift which probably ran the risk of being misunderstood and little appreciated - as perhaps more than one confirmed machista thought, back in the 1930s and 1940s. It was no such thing. The explosive growth in women's demand for education makes it clear that this was, without doubt, one of the dearest aspirations of the Peruvian woman. It was a desire which had been absurdly ignored for so many decades and, indeed, so many centuries. And it was a wish that the Peruvian women made come true without delay, without a moment's hesitation, as soon as they were given the chance to do so.

Thus, the recent, dizzy ascent of the Peruvian woman to the highest levels of educational qualifications accounts for some of her most noteworthy conquests:

1) She has made a decided entry into the labour market, thus contributing significantly to the maintenance of the family with her own income.

2) Her significant contribution to the family economy accounts for the fact that in the present critical economic situation, the social situation is less conflictual than might be expected.

3) There are very many, highly praiseworthy cases of women who are on their own, financially speaking, either because their husbands have left them or because they are unable to get work, and who have taken on the total responsibility of providing for the family.

4) Peruvian women have assumed an undisputed leading role in institutions such as the Comedores Populares (neighbourhood soup kitchens) or the Vaso de Leche (school breakfast program) which make a meaningful contribution toward solving one of the most pressing problems at this time of crisis.

5) Women are also gaining leadership positions in the country's largest urban areas. Recently a treacherous terrorist assassination raised Lima's most outstanding neighbourhood leader, María Elena Moyano, to the rank of a people's martyr - of, and for, the people.

6) For the first time in the whole of Peru's history, three women have served as Government Ministers in the past five years: Ilda Urizar, Minister of Health; and Mercedes Cabanillas and Gloria Helfer, who were both Ministers of Education.

7) I would even be of the opinion that we can attribute to the same causes the apparently inexplicable success, recognized worldwide, of the Peruvian women's volleyball team. Women's volleyball is, in fact, the only popular sport which has given satisfaction to the Peruvian populace in the past couple of decades. Thus, the sudden, vigorous flourishing of the women's team, may well have its roots in the no less sudden, vigorous and collective access of Peruvian women to education.

Access to the Administration of Higher Education

It is clear so far that, in order for the Peruvian woman's access to the administration of higher education to take place, not as an isolated instance, though this is none the less meritorious, but as common practice, certain prior conditions would have to be fulfilled.

One of them, the most important one, already exists. As already mentioned, practically the whole community of Peruvian women already forms a part of the country's educational system.

But this is not enough. In order to be competent in the administration of higher education, the Peruvian woman must have this level of education. Indeed, this is an increasing trend in Peru.

But it was also necessary for hundreds and thousands of women to enter into the field of teaching in higher education institutions and universities. This was the only way in which a critical mass of women could be formed, who would be the "quarry" from which the administrators of higher education could be extracted. The figures referring to women who have been teaching in universities during the past two decades are as follows:

Women teaching in the university sector
(approximate figures)

Year	Numbers (thousands)	%
1970	1	14
1979	2	17
1984	3	19

Although progress has been slow (in comparison with the figures we have seen earlier in reference to other educational levels), there is no denying that growth is certainly taking place.

However, it should be noted that the incorporation of Peruvian women into university teaching is a very recent social phenomenon. This is because it could only start happening in the generation where women had achieved a mass presence in university education; namely, at least two generations after the phenomenon of the mass incorporation of women into primary school education. So this is the most recent phenomenon of all; or, in other words, the one which has taken the longest time to become apparent.

Recent and tardy as it is, its growth is still slow. But it is to be expected that when at least two more generations have gone by, there will be high growth figures. By that time this process will have acquired the maturity and the dynamism observed in the earlier processes of women's incorporation into primary, secondary and higher education. There are no reasons to suppose the contrary.

By that time, there will be a voluminous critical mass of women capable of becoming involved in the administration of higher education in Peru, in significant and increasing numbers.

Today, meanwhile, we can merely indicate that, of the approximately 700 people who have been Rectors in Peru's mixed (male/female) universities, only one woman ever attained that high position: Dr. Ilse Wisowsky, who became Rector of the University of Lima, during the 1980s.

It must be pointed out, however, that this early, praiseworthy "conquest" took place in a relatively new institution: in the first private Peruvian university founded by professionals who were academics and at the same time individuals known and respected for their entrepreneurial activities. This was only to be expected from such an origin, in a university where enthusiasm, modernism and the best liberal ideas had been cultivated from its creation.

The Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón - UNIFE - ("The Sacred Heart University for Women"), Peru's first university for women, founded in 1962 by the Sacred Heart nuns, includes in its statutes the stipulation that the position of Rector must always be occupied by a member of the Sacred Heart congregation holding a Ph.D. in education. To date, four nuns have held that position.

The old, historical and traditional universities such as San Marcos in Lima, or the Universities of Cusco, Trujillo or Arequipa have never had a woman as Rector. Neither has the almost one hundred year old Catholic University of Lima, nor those which were founded at the beginning of this century to prepare civil engineers and agronomists. Nor any of the almost thirty universities, public and private, that have been founded in Peru over the past thirty years.

It is predictable, however, that woman rectors will be elected more and more from this decade onward; and that this process should become consolidated during the early decades of the next century.

Obstacles to be Overcome

But, far from passively waiting for that to happen, we should try to overcome all the obstacles which might delay the process and hinder its consolidation.

In this respect, there are many lines of action that need to be taken, which include the following:

1) The machismo implicit in the texts of laws governing the universities has to be corrected. Thus, in the present University Law of Peru (Law 23733 of

December 1983), whenever reference is made to the members of the teaching community, the words used are in their masculine form (*): "rector", "vice-rectors", "deans", "directors", "professors", "ordinary professors" ("principal", "associate", or "auxiliary" professors), "extraordinary professors" ("emeritus", "honorary", "research" and "visiting" professors) "professors on contract", "heads of practice". The total exclusion of the feminine form of the words is a subtle form of machismo which is being corrected in the texts of laws in many countries. This should also be done in Peru. Not so much for the formal aspects of the issue, but for the enormous implications and outstanding importance of such a change.

The law should also explicitly and unequivocally state that both women and men are entitled to have access to each and every one of the levels of the university hierarchy, once the pertinent legal and academic pre-requisites have been met.

And, ironic and paradoxical though this may seem, we will have to demand that the official statistics bureau re-record the figures referring to the educational sector, distinguishing women from men, and urban from rural, both for students and teachers. The "Social Statistics Compendium, 1991", published by Peru's National Institute of Statistics and Data Processing, fails to include these breakdowns in its statistics. Knowing as we do that the access of women to education is a recent phenomenon, we are obliged to be aware of and monitor its development, but this will only be possible if the pertinent data are made available.

2) At the same time, there is another task to be undertaken which, although it has to be on a much longer-term basis, is closely linked to the preceding point.

In effect, in Peru, as in other countries, the ideological connotations of the machismo predominant in the society have firmly established that (positively perceived) attributes of "independence", "aggressiveness", "domination", "strength", "courage", are exclusive to men. And since it has also been implicity dictated that leadership in an institution demands those very attributes, the fallacy that institutional leadership should continue to be a man's prerogative appears to many people to be logical.

This is, without doubt, one of the ideological hurdles which will only be overcome with an investment of a great deal of energy and a lot of long, hard work.

Some Strategies Suggested

Based on the analysis made so far, and in addition to acting as mentioned regarding the preceding points, we take the liberty of outlining a few strategies which could be used in Peru and which might, eventually, be valid in other contexts also.

General Lines of Action

1) Publicize and disseminate in all sectors of society and in the different branches of the national government, the fact that the investment being made by society and the Government in education is a solid basis for the country to build on and an indispensable insurance for its development and progress.

In this context, the State, the Regional Governments and Local Governments must be urged to give priority within their resource allocation to their expenditure on education, at all levels, (effectively assigning to this sector the highest percentages). But, for the sake of coherence and effectiveness, priority should be given, at least during the coming two decades, to initial and primary education. Once the objective of adequately equipping primary schools (but in keeping with the demands of the twenty-first century) has been met, the next priority should be secondary education, and so on. It will be a long and costly process, indeed. It should be recalled, however, that this process will be an attempt to correct centuries of neglect and discrimination within a period of few decades only.

2) Vigorously insist that the curricula used in all levels and types of education be adapted to the country's real situation, its dissimilar natural regions and its own specific development requirements.

3) Vehemently encourage a system whereby the Local Governments (district town halls) assume the effective control of the schools in their jurisdiction, starting with initial and primary education, leaving to the Ministry of Education the responsibilities of providing the general regulations and transferring government funds. The recent decades of democratic functioning of the local governments, despite the country's widespread crisis, undoubtedly show a more rational and logical use of the scanty resources belonging to each of the country's districts. The same should be expected of them when they assume their important role in the field of education, as they gain increasingly more experience and dedication to this all-important task.

4) In order to undermine the bases of the absurd and outmoded machismo still reigning in Peru, the widespread existence of mixed schools, both public and private, should also be strongly encouraged.

5) Centres, programmes and/or seminars specialising in providing training for "the administration and direction of education" (initial, primary, secondary, higher and university education) should be set up for both male and female teachers.

6) The laws at present governing Peruvian universities stipulate that the highest managerial positions may be occupied only by those who have reached the topmost rung of the teaching career. Some universities, like UNIFE itself, and others, have statutes which limit this possibility to the members of a specific institution.

This limitation should be submitted to a strict and exhaustive analysis. The possibility should be studied of having the highest position in the university hierarchy (rectorate, presidency, or whatever term is used) occupied by a person organically separate from that institution or university, but who nevertheless has a very close and effective spiritual affinity and whose incorporation could lead to countless valuable contributions. Under such circumstances, the position of vice-rector or equivalent could be reserved for members of the hierarchy of the university or institution.

It must be understood that, although these general lines of action do not seek to benefit the female population directly, nevertheless, by obtaining benefits for society as a whole, they will pave the way to this specific objective also.

Specific Lines of Action

1) Emphasize and publicize, particularly to a female public, and even more specifically to the female teachers in universities and other institutions for higher education, examples of women who gain access democratically to the position of rector or director of such institutions. These cases must be paradigms and sources of stimulation and healthy emulation for all female teachers and students with a teaching vocation. That should contribute to raising the number and quality of the critical mass of woman teachers able to accede to the direction and administration of higher education.

2) Strengthen the academic and fraternal ties existing between women holding various different positions in the direction and administration of higher education institutions and universities. That would be a way for them all to gain in knowledge and experience via a permanent, systematic exchange of ideas: Different kinds of bodies need to be deliberately set up (associations, seminars, conferences) to facilitate this permanent and systematic sharing.

3) Deliberately and clearly encourage female teachers to add to their professional qualifications in the areas of administration and direction, either in their own institutions or in other institutions specialising in these subjects.

4) Use specific seminars to motivate female primary and secondary teachers to improve their qualifications in administration and direction.

5) The public relations offices of higher education institutions and universities should be encouraged to incorporate into their ranks, through seminars and/or conferences, all those women who, in one way or another, play an outstanding role in the country's social context.

Final Reflections

As these remarks have revealed, the Peruvian woman is firmly and unwaveringly seeking and obtaining for herself, her family and her country a better, more promising future. In many cases, she may not even be conscious of this; and although it is not indispensable for her to be so, it is certainly better if the awareness of this worthy task and its tremendous responsibility can become as widespread as possible.

In past centuries, despite being limited to a domestic context, the Peruvian woman has played her role as woman and mother with dignity and devotion. Tomorrow, sooner rather than later, as a result of the process into which she herself has injected a tremendous dose of dynamism, she will be capable of unsuspected and immeasurable contributions. Nothing and nobody will be able to stop her. Nothing and nobody will be able to stop this process. And, far from being a threat, this is a vigorous promise of enrichment for herself and her country.

Society as a whole must join forces to accompany the Peruvian woman along her new path in life: a path of dedication, erudition and audacity. To train women to play a role of "woman-centre, woman-power", is the fervent wish of the Sacred Heart University for Women in Peru. We want women who desire to become fulfilled, enhanced, well-defined; women who seek an all-important goal in life, a clear direction and the fullness of womanhood.

This is the kind of woman who will make an even greater contribution towards solving the political, cultural, social and economic problems of Peru.

USA/CANADA

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Sandra Featherman

To most observers, there seemed little doubt that Marion Field was on her way to the presidency of a first rate university. After all, she had served as the chief academic officer of a major American university. So, when she settled for the presidency of a non-prestigious, little recognized school, people wondered why.

The answer is that the top-flight schools were not looking for a woman leader. Certainly, their search notices contained the *de rigueur* statements that they did not discriminate, or that women and minorities are urged to apply, but the bottom line was that while women might be considered, they were not likely to be selected as presidents.

While the story is not accurate (the name has been changed) it is true, in the sense that it happens frequently. Although women in the United States and Canada have made significant gains in access to higher education, they are a long way from having equal representation in senior levels of university management.

As recently as 1971, in the United States, women were virtually locked out of the office of college president except in small Catholic women's schools headed by nuns. There were less than a dozen other types of four-year colleges where women were presidents and five of these were women's colleges. At the same time, 60 men were presidents of women's colleges, but no women were presidents of men's colleges[1]. Furthermore, very few women were serving even in senior administrative positions such as provost or dean in coeducational or men's schools[2].

Today, there are 348 women chief executive officers in United States colleges and universities. Only 21 per cent are members of religious orders. Women now head 12 per cent of the 3,000 regionally accredited institutions[3].

---

[1] Marian K. Chamberlain, ed., *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects*, Sage NY, 1988, p. 317.

[2] Jacquelyn A. Mattfeld, "Many are Called, But Few are Chosen", *Women in Higher Education*, eds. W. Todd Furniss and Patricia Albjerg Graham, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1974.

[3] Data provided by the Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education (ACE), June 1992.

That is the good news. But a careful look at the colleges that women lead is sobering. Few are well known. Few are prestigious. And few are financially well-endowed. Just why this occurs will be explored.

A. Higher Education in the United States and Canada

In the United States, since 1979 more women than men have been enroled in college. More women complete degrees than men, also. During the 1989-90 academic year, 58 per cent of all two-year associate level degrees, 53 per cent of all bachelor's degrees, and 53 per cent of masters degrees were awarded to women. Yet, at the professional (law, medicine, dentistry, etc.) and doctoral (Ph.D., Ed.D.) levels, women did far less well (38 per cent and 36 per cent respectively)[4].

There are several reasons why women might not complete these advanced degrees in proportions similar to their accomplishments at lower levels. Marriage and childbirth often intervene, leaving many women without the time or income to remain active students. The traditional expectation of primacy for the husband's career has also forced many women to leave academic programs if a partner took a position, or was transferred to a job, in a distant location.

Another barrier to doctoral degree completion for women has been sexual harassment. Men still dominate the faculty in most graduate programs. Cases of male faculty soliciting female graduate students for sexual favours are frequently reported. Studies indicate that such activities are significantly under reported, especially since many women fear that they will not be believed, that nothing will happen to the harasser, that they themselves will face retribution if they bring charges against their professors, and that it will interfere with their careers.

Finally, there is still considerable bias against women. While the prevalence of bias appears to be declining, there are still many male professors who believe that women are less qualified than men for academic careers.

The increase in the number and proportion of advanced degrees awarded to women has meant that a large pool of qualified women is available to enter the professorate in many fields. Presently, 29 per cent of all full time faculty members are women. However, women are better represented on the faculties at two year, baccalaureate and comprehensive colleges than at doctoral level institutions, and they are better represented in the lower rank positions such as instructor and assistant professor than at the higher ranks of associate and full professor[5].

---

[4] "Earned Degrees, 1989-90", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 13, 1992, p. A37.

[5] "Percentage Distribution of Full Time Faculty Members, by Category, Affiliation, Academic Rank, and Gender 1991-92", *Academe*, March-April, 1992, p. 30.

Furthermore, data show that men are more likely to be tenured and to be hired in tenurable positions. They are also likely to be paid more than women. Seventy per cent of male faculty members are tenured compared with 46 per cent of female faculty[6]. Over 92 per cent of faculty men are in tenure-track positions compared with less than 81 per cent of faculty women[7]. Salaries, too, are lower for women at every level.

Table I

Average Salaries for Men and Women Faculty in the United States by Academic Rank, 1991-92 (in U.S. dollars)

Academic Rank	Men	Women
Professor	$59,180	$52,380
Associate	$44,130	$41,040
Assistant	$37,240	$34,380
Instructor	$28,220	$26,390
Lecturer	$32,800	$28,530

Source: The Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession 1991-92. *Academe*, March-April 1992, p. 20.

As can be seen in Table I, faculty women in the United States earn less than faculty men at every academic rank. At the lecturer and instructor levels the difference averages about $2,000, while men at the full professor rank outearn women by $59,180 to $52,380.

In Canada, too, women faculty members are disproportionately in the lower ranks. As in the United States, in every category, women faculty earn less than men[8].

---

[6] "Percentage of Faculty Members with Tenure Status, by Category, Affiliation, Academic Rank, and Gender, 1991-92", *Academe*, March-April, 1992, p. 26.

[7] "Percentage of Full Time Faculty on Tenure Track Appointments, by Category, Affiliation, Academic Rank, and Gender, 1991-92", *Academe*, March-April, 1992, p. 27.

[8] "Salary Analysis of Full Time Teachers in Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1989-90". Data supplied by Statistics Canada.

Table II

Average Salaries for Men and Women Faculty in Canada by Academic Rank, 1989-90 (in Canadian dollars)

Academic Rank	Men	Women
Professor	$75,580	$71,858
Associate	$61,091	$58,388
Assistant	$47,223	$45,247
Lecturer	$41,790	$39,239

Source: Statistics Canada

As Table II shows, women faculty in Canada earn less than men in every academic rank, although the differences are not quite as large as in the United States. At the lecturer level, women earn $39,239 while men earn $41,790. At the full professor level, men out earn women $76,580 to $71,858. It is important to note that salaries for Canadian professors are for 12 months. The American professors' salaries listed here are based on a 9 month school year. The American professors are then able to use their free time to do research, vacation, teach summer sessions for additional wages, or supplement their incomes in other ways.

Women faculty in both countries, however, have a long way to go to achieve parity with their male colleagues.

B. The American Higher Education System

The American system of higher education is privatized and decentralized. There are no national universities. The federal government can see that general laws are enforced in colleges and universities, but the federal government has no formal control over what is taught.

Although 77 per cent of all college students in the United States are enroled in public institutions, more than half of all colleges are privately managed. The private institutions are overwhelmingly non-profit. Many of the private colleges are affiliated with religious groups. A number of the presently non-religiously affiliated private colleges were originally set up by religious groups, but have changed to non-denominational status over time.

The University of Minnesota is a public land-grant university. The American land-grant universities historically were given acreage and funding by their states, and were in turn expected to provide a university education for qualified students, as well as agricultural and other outreach services across their state.

In most states, the land-grant universities have more than one campus. Where this occurs, the usual pattern is to designate one or several of the campuses as a flagship campus. Such a campus would have a large enrolment, a wide variety of collegiate and professional programs, grant doctoral degrees and support substantial research programs.

The University of Minnesota has four campuses. The flagship campus is located in Minneapolis (with some programs in nearby St. Paul). The Duluth campus (UMD), is a comprehensive university, with a rapidly growing research program. Comprehensive universities offer baccalaureate and master's degrees and a variety of areas of study and specialization. In each of the past few years, UMD has been ranked among the top 15 regional colleges and universities in the Midwest by a national magazine, *U.S. News and World Report*.

In addition to doctoral and comprehensive universities, there are four-year liberal arts colleges, specialized schools (for example, music or art), teachers' colleges, and combinations of these. There is also a large system of two-year colleges, mostly public. The public ones are usually called community colleges and the privates are usually designated as junior colleges.

At the University of Minnesota, positive change for women was spurred by a legal appeal. In 1975, a female professor filed a lawsuit claiming that she was being denied tenure because of gender discrimination. Other women joined the suit and it became a class action suit in 1977. This meant that it was argued on behalf of all members of the aggrieved class (women faculty across the university) and all such members could share in any remediation, if the courts found in favour of the appeal.

Most of the women at UMD joined in the appeal. A settlement was reached between the university and the faculty women, granting increased wages for women faculty whose salaries trailed those of men in comparable positions. A Commission on Women was established to promote a more positive environment for women. New systems and procedures were established to assure careful monitoring of the hiring, tenuring, and promotion of women. Strict guidelines were established for search procedures, to assure access to job opportunities for women and minorities. As a result, presently at UMD, in addition to my own position as Vice Chancellor for the Academic Programs, 40 per cent of the deans are women, a woman is director of the computer services, and there are women department heads in departments such as biology and chemical engineering-areas where women have not been traditionally well represented.

Nonetheless, because of our modest successes, there has been some backlash. One department head presented a paper at a national meeting claiming that there was "a chilling environment for white men" on the UMD campus. Such charges have failed to be substantiated. On the other hand, I have been subjected to a series of serious threats, including a publicly distributed exhortation urging assassination. While the threats have been made anonymously, it is widely believed that several angry faculty men may be behind the incidents. Other threats have targeted several women (and a few men) seen as actively working to enhance the positions cf women and members of racial minorities on our campus.

The Chancellor, the President, and hundreds of decent faculty at the university have expressed their outrage at these events, and increased the emphasis on positive measures to recruit and retain women and minorities. Even during a recent budget crisis, all administrators were notified that proposed cuts could not endanger the newly won gains of these "protected" groups.

While public colleges have benefited from public support, so have private colleges in the United States, albeit with less direct state aid. The private colleges have benefited through federal aid to their students, through at least small allocations from some state governments, and through grants for research and special projects from various governmental agencies.

Canada, which shares a several thousand miles of border with the United States, both sends and receives students and faculty members across this border. While there are many similarities in the higher education system, there are also substantial differences. In particular, in Canada almost all of the colleges and universities are public today. There are only a handful of private institutions, all small and religiously oriented. Canada has 110 institutions of higher education. Universities include institutions with four-year and graduate programs. Colleges include two-year and technical institutions.

C. Women in Higher Education Management in the United States

The number of women chief executive officers in American colleges and universities has grown dramatically over the last 17 years, increasing from 148 in 1975 to 348 by mid 1992. It is in the public sector where the increases have been most dramatic, however, increasing from 16 in 1975 to 164 in 1992. Another 184 chief executive positions are now held by women in private colleges and universities[9].

One reason that women historically have fared better in attaining top leadership positions in private colleges than in public ones is that a number of the private schools where women were presidents were managed by religious orders and were often exclusively for women students.

As of April 1992, 12 per cent of the chief executive officers of regionally accredited institutions are women[10]. Of these, 21 per cent are members of religious orders[11]. The proportion of women presidents or chancellors who are nuns has been shrinking over the last two decades. This is partially attributable to the fact that many previously Catholic colleges have become non-denominational (as occurred with most Protestant-founded colleges long ago), but much more the result of increases in the number of women being named to head public as well as non-religious private institutions.

---

[9] Comparison of ACE Data with listings in *1992 Higher Education Directory*, Higher Education Publications, Falls Church, VA, 1992.

[10] Data from Office of Women in Higher Education, ACE.

Much of the increase has been at the community college level, where there has been nearly a ten-fold increase between 1975 and 1992, from 11 to 106 presidencies for women[12]. Similar growth occurred in four-year public institutions, which saw an increase of from 5 to 58 women leaders.

Nonetheless, the picture of change appears rosier from the numbers than is warranted. There has been a growing suspicion among American women college administrators that the college presidencies opening up to women have occurred disproportionately in less prestigious colleges or those troubled with fiscal problems. By and large the colleges selecting women chief executives are not the most distinguished, the most well-known, the largest, or the best endowed institutions, although there are some clear exceptions. As Bernice Sandler has pointed out, in terms of the representation of women faculty and administrators, the more prestigious the school, the fewer the women, and the higher the rank, the fewer the women[13]. Many college presidents also agree that it is still very difficult for women to be selected to head prestigious institutions[14].

To investigate whether or not there are qualitative differences in the sets of institutions which men manage compared with those managed by women, we need to address two issues. First, what hypothesis could explain differences? Second, how could qualitative differences in institutions be reasonably assessed, generally agreed upon, and measured?

College presidents are generally selected by boards of trustees in both public and private colleges. In states with coordinated public systems, the system president may select presidents or chancellors of individual campuses or colleges within the system, usually from a list of names proposed by a search committee composed of faculty and others from the individual campus in question.

---

[11] Ibid.

[12] Comparison of ACE data with listings in *1992 Higher Education Directory*.

[13] Bernice R. Sandler, *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students*, ed. Bernice R. Sandler, Project on the Status of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1986, p. 2.

[14] Courtney Leatherman, "More Female Presidents Hired But Questions Linger About Their Clout", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 6, 1991, p. A20.

As Donna Shavlik and Judith Touchton have pointed out, trust and rapport are key factors. "Top administrators in the academy, as elsewhere, are chosen by those already in power because it is felt that they can be counted upon to uphold and advance the values of the institution. Additionally, we are all most comfortable and find it easiest to communicate with those most like ourselves."[15]

The trust and rapport factors appear to be critical to women's access to the top in academia. Those selecting a president for their college want to be comfortable with the new leader, to be able to play golf or attend college football games together. The presidential search committee members may be concerned about a candidate's ability to raise endowment funds for private colleges or work with legislators for public support. In the large universities there may be substantial concern for attracting major public and private sector funded research projects.

The best known colleges in the United States are those which tend to fall into one or more of the following categories: those with the largest endowments, the most annual external research support, the most competitive athletic programs, and the most rigorous admissions standards. While there is not agreement on admissions selectivity, there are some agreed upon measures in the first three categories. Furthermore, these are areas which tend to be problematic for women, as women are not yet fully trusted as managers of institutions with substantial athletic programs, research agendas, budgets, fund-raising drives, and endowments.

Collegiate football and basketball are still seen as the province of men. Among those colleges in the most competitive category, NCAA Division I, only one in the entire nation has a woman athletic director.

Where the financial areas are concerned, women are still seen as less knowledgeable than men. There are even fewer women financial officers of colleges than presidents. Some women candidates for presidential positions have contended that they were questioned more extensively on financial issues than male candidates were[16].

In the area of research, women have made great strides. However, the research establishment is dominated by men. The largest dollars are awarded to the hard sciences, where there are fewer women, rather than the social sciences and humanities. Women remain seriously under-represented in areas such as mathematics and the physical sciences where less than one out of five doctorates awarded in each field in 1989-90 went to women, and engineering where less than 9 per cent of the doctorates were earned by women. At the professorial level in these fields, women are even less visible, especially as one climbs the ranks to full professor.

---

[15] Donna Shavlik and Judith Touchton, "Women in Administration: Colder at the Top", in *The Campus Climate Revisited*, p. 14.

[16] Leatherman, p. A20.

To the extent that research is still seen as largely the domain of men, women may not be trusted to manage this facet of academic life well, and so may have greater difficulty than men in gaining the presidency at research universities.

Four variables were used to test the relationship between sports, finances, research, and the selection of a woman as chief executive officer.

1. The percentage of doctoral granting institutions headed by women.
2. The percentage of research institutions headed by women.
3. The percentage of institutions with the 100 largest endowments headed by women.
4. The percentage of National Collegiate Athletic Association Division I institutions headed by women.

While many universities in the United States may have a very limited number of doctoral programs or students, only a limited number of universities are categorized as doctoral granting. These are institutions that annually award more than 20 Ph.D. degrees in at least one discipline or 10 or more Ph.D. degrees in three or more disciplines.

The findings indicate that, among the 213 American universities classified as doctoral granting, only 11 had women chief executives in 1992, 5.1 per cent[17].

Women do no better in heading research institutions. Only two women head institutions designated as Research I, for a 4.4 per cent share. (This is the top research category. These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs, are committed to graduate education through the doctoral degree, receive at least $33.5 million (in 1987) in federal research support, and award at least 50 Ph.D. degrees annually.[18]) Three women lead universities which are members of the exclusive Association of American Universities, for 5.1 per cent.

Women fare even less well where big-time athletics is concerned. Colleges with strong athletic teams may bring in considerable revenue from ticket sales or media coverage for their games. In the United States, television and radio stations pay colleges the right to broadcast minute-by-minute coverage of games. In addition to this revenue, winning athletic programs are believed to positively influence prospective donors and to make public funders more supportive of the schools involved.

---

[17] Comparison of ACE list of women chief executive officers, June 1992, and *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*, The Carnegie Foundation, 1987, pp. 13-18.

[18] *Classification of Institutes of Higher Education*, p. 1, 7.

Big-time college athletics have come under considerable scrutiny because of frequent allegations of inappropriate conduct by coaches, poor scholastic records by students, and high costs. Some of the coaches make more money than the college presidents, and occasionally they wield more power, too, particularly with alumni and key trustees. In confrontational situations, coaches and athletic directors have occasionally gotten presidents ousted.

Since the two big money sports are men's basketball and men's football, trustees and system officials may lack confidence in women's willingness to adequately support these sports or to manage the potentially fractious relations. Certainly, this appears to be the case, as women lead only 7 of the 297 colleges in the NCAA Division I, just 2.4 per cent.

A similar picture arises with respect to endowments. Of the 100 colleges and universities with the largest endowments, only 5 were headed by women (5 per cent), and 3 of those were private women's colleges[19].

The evidence appears to confirm that in the United States women are disproportionately selected to head less senior, less research oriented, less athletically competitive, and less financially well-endowed colleges.

In Canada, women have also not done well in gaining positions as chief executive officers (generally referred to as rectors in French speaking Canada and presidents in English speaking areas). Only 4 of the 110 universities and colleges are headed by women.

The general assessment of knowledgeable Canadian academics is that higher education in Canada has not changed as fast as American higher education according to Marilyn Taylor, chair of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) Status of Women Committee. No one doubts that change is underway, however. The commitment to change is a national level one, under the Federal Employment Equity Act, in which all institutions are required to participate.

At the same time, Canadian women note that their country has made great advances for women outside of academia. In the 1970's, Canada established a Royal Commission on the Status of Women. This commission and its recommendations have "played a key role in creating and accelerating the process of a feminist evolution in Canadian women's associations...[and their] interactions 1with the federal government in later years."[20] There is hope that the impact of these changes will begin to be felt in higher education management.

---

[19] "Institutions Ranked by 1991 Market Value of Endowment Assets", *NACUBO Business Officer*, February 1992, p. 22.

[20] Monique Begin, "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada: Twenty Years Later", in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, eds. Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991, p. 35.

D. Future Prospects for Increased Participation of Women in Higher Education Management

Finally, let us look at the prospects for increased participation of women in leadership roles in higher education. One very positive sign is that women are increasingly being named to college and university presidencies. Of the nearly 140 chief executive officers named in the first six months of 1992 in the United States, approximately 28 per cent were women bc[21]. If that rate were to continue, it would considerably raise the total share of presidencies that women hold.

Another positive indicator is that women are holding more key positions than in the past so that the pool of available, appropriately experienced women has been growing. For example, during the 1987-88 academic year, 17 per cent of the chief academic officers were women[22]. This is the position which is generally the prelude to a presidency.

The improved possibilities for women to assume leadership positions in colleges and universities are attributable to several factors. These include the impact of equal opportunity employment laws (beginning in 1972), the advocacy and support of key women's professional organizations such as the American Association of University Women, and the training in leadership skills provided by programs such as the HERS-Mid America Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration.

Even more crucial has been the focus on leadership development for women which has been promoted by several national collegiate associations. The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges has, through its National Institute for Leadership Development, especially stressed the advancement of women. The Association of American Colleges, through its Project on the Status of Women (recently eliminated), provided needed visibility to the problems women encountered from the classroom to the laboratory to the president's office.

Most important has been the role of the Office of Women in Higher Education of the American Council on Education (ACE). The ACE is an umbrella organization of other higher education organizations. As such, it represents all segments of higher education in the United States.

Using the prestigious standing of the organization, the ACE Office of Women developed a National Identification Program (ACE/NIP), which held national forums to promote the advancement of women and small invitational meetings to showcase emerging women leaders. Since the inception of these programs in 1977, over 700 senior women administrators have participated in the forums.

---

[21] "Name Dropping", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 10, 1992, p. A35.

[22] "Percentage of Women in Selected Administrative Positions in All Types of Institutions, 1987-88", eds., Judith G. Touchton and Lynne Davis, *Factbook on Women in Higher Education*, American Council on Education and MacMillan Publishing, New York, 1991, p. 242.

More than 90 of the women presidents participated in the meetings before moving into their chief executive officer positions. While some of the women might have advanced anyway, there is little doubt that most of their careers benefitted from the attention, help, networking, and visibility that the ACE/NIP programs provided.

Two other extremely important developments have helped to focus on issues of equity for women in higher education. One has been the growth of women's studies programs and departments in colleges across the nation. Although presently there is considerable debate in the United States about the legitimacy of academic programs such as women's studies being advocates for particular policy positions, the very presence of students and faculty committed to studying women's issues provides a core of persons within a campus sensitive to equity issues.

The second development has been the establishment of Commissions on Women at numerous colleges and universities. These commissions can appropriately focus on policy issues and monitor the progress of their institutions in working toward and achieving gender equity. The commissions can examine guidelines for committees interviewing applicants for faculty and administrative positions to be sure the guidelines are fair. They can ask to meet with and evaluate candidates for sensitive or important positions. They can protest violations of gender equity. They can advocate for positive changes.

Commissions for Women have been extremely important in Canada, too. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the CAUT Status of Women Committee have key roles, in the case of the former in proposing policy, and in the latter of "nurturing hope and energy for many who are isolated and besieged in their efforts."[23]

Finally, institutions and their leaders, including system-wide chancellors and trustees, must make a commitment to gender equity. Such commitments must then be implemented, not just announced. Compliance must be monitored and results examined. This should be done by the present leadership. But if it is not, then Commission on Women groups at the local campuses and offices of women in major educational organizations must continue their efforts in pressuring for positive change in higher education.

---

[23] Marilyn Taylor, correspondence, July 24, 1992.

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC: THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Konai H. Thaman and Sarojini Pillay

Introduction

The University of the South Pacific (USP) was established in 1968 under a Charter, to serve the higher education needs of eleven of the small island countries in the region, namely Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa. Last year (1991), the Republic of the Marshall Islands joined the USP to become its twelfth member country. The USP region is thus made up of island countries of the three main culture areas of the Pacific Islands namely, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. We need to point out at the outset that while we will be discussing women in relation to their roles in management in this university, we are aware of certain complicating factors such as issues relating to race and ethnicity. In this part of the world, these have been at the fore. Gender is usually regarded as something which interests only a few feminists and academics. For generally patriarchal societies, this is hardly surprising.

Current Situation

Women are definitely under-represented in key senior positions at the USP at the present time. There were only a few women on the staff of the university when it first started: all were on the teaching staff, and none in administrative positions. By 1981, however, more women were recruited into the non-academic professional areas. Out of a total staff of 258 in the academic and comparable grades, 40 were women. Ten years later, there were 79 women out of a total of 295. The majority of these women, however, were at the lecturer or comparable grades. The most senior position currently held by a women on the teaching staff is reader. There is no woman professor.

It is worth noting that even though the figures indicate some improvement in the number of women in academic and comparable staff positions, very few women hold key senior positions. For example, there is no woman head of school or director of an institute (there has been only one woman institute director in the history of the university), and apart from the Department of Home Economics, no woman Head of Department. Women do better at Extension Services and the Library, where the current head of Extension and three Centre Directors are women, and the Librarian and most of her senior staff are women. Perhaps women managers not only provide role models for other women but are also more positive in having women in their sections.

In terms of the university management, the current picture may appear favourable compared with other universities in Australasia, since the Registrar and Pro Vice Chancellor (Staffing) are women (and the authors of this article). However, this situation may change at year's end when the term of the Pro Vice Chancellor finishes. The only other senior management positions which are currently being held by women are: Director of Extension Services, Librarian and Laboratory Manager.

Despite the fact that two very senior management positions are held by women in this university, we feel that women are still grossly under-represented in key areas of decision-making, such as, for example, in the University Senate and Council. The Council, the governing body of the university, has over 40 members; only two are women, and there have been no more than one or two women members during any particular term of the Council. Similarly in the Senate, the most important group in terms of academic decision-making, women are seriously under-represented.

Possible Contributing Factors

The situation at the USP may be said to be a combination of several factors, including the following: the lack of a large enough pool of suitably qualified women to draw from in the region; social attitudes towards women and what they are supposed to do; women's attitudes towards themselves and their management roles; and, a lack of clear policy guidelines and/or strategies for preparing and ensuring women's participation in management positions.

Access to Formal Education

In terms of access to formal education for girls and women, the current situation is a mixed one differing from country to country. While national legislation provides for the attendance at school of both boys and girls, in practice, particularly in Melanesian countries, girls are under-represented especially in secondary education. In Polynesia, girls are well represented in the secondary sector, and in some countries, such as in Tonga, they perform better than boys in secondary leaving examinations. However, they are outnumbered at university by 3 to 1. One can say therefore that there continues to be a disparity between the higher educational opportunities available to boys and girls in the South Pacific. The under-representation of women on the academic staff at the USP therefore, largely reflects the fact that forty or so years ago, girls were not encouraged to go further than high school.

The reasons for giving preference to boys when it came to tertiary education are quite well known. Boys were going to be the breadwinners for their families and since girls were going to end up as wives and mothers, they did not need much education. They were not a good investment in terms of higher education as they would eventually marry and leave their job in order to bring up a family. Furthermore, many, especially men, were of the view that girls with too much education might not make good housewives in the sense that they might regard housework negatively and were more likely to disobey their husbands, thus creating "unstable" households.

Fortunately, there were some exceptions to this thinking. In some families where there were no boys of where girls were the eldest children, girls were encouraged to study and given opportunities to go as far as they could up the secondary school ladder and even to university. The general belief was that girls would be able to enter gainful employment and assist parents financially as well as help educate younger siblings. We know this to be true from our personal experiences.

In addition to societal and parental attitudes towards the school education of girls in the 1950s and 1960s, the school curriculum that was available for girls did not encourage them to take up fields other than the usual ones of teaching and nursing. All girls' schools, although offering science and commercial subjects, continued to emphasize those areas of knowledge and skills which prepared girls for their future roles as wives and mothers, or as secretaries for male bosses. In fact, there were very few co-educational high schools anywhere in our region before 1970. Where there were co-ed high schools, the differentiated curriculum was very evident. If given choices, girls would almost always opt for the Arts and, if available, Home Economics, and boys for the Sciences, Commerce and technical subjects.

As late as the 1980s, in many high schools in the region, Mathematics and related subjects, such as Physics and Accounting, were regarded by many as masculine subjects and were only available to boys because they were considered too difficult for girls or of little value to them. Chemistry was often considered dangerous for girls and so they were encouraged to take Biology if they had to take a science. Mainly because of these prejudices, girls' achievement in the Science and Mathematics areas was limited. This largely accounts for their absence in the Sciences at the academic staff level at university. Today, science subjects are made available to both girls and boys but the numbers entering these fields at the tertiary level continue to be small. This means that women will continue to lag behind men in professions which require the Sciences, such as Medicine, unless concerted efforts are made to encourage girls to opt for non-traditional subjects at the school level.

In terms of female participation in higher education then, the picture is one of under-representation. Before this regional university was set up in 1968, higher education had to be pursued overseas, mainly in New Zealand and Australia. Many parents could not afford the expenditure and therefore government scholarships became the major vehicle for the further education of both boys and girls. As mentioned earlier, boys were favoured. For example, in Tonga in the early sixties, boys who had passed the Tonga Higher Leaving Certificate (Form 4 or 10th grade) were given scholarships to study medicine at the Central Medical School in Fiji, while girls who had passed the New Zealand School Certificate (Form 5 Level) were sent to Ardmore Teachers' College in New Zealand. It was not until 1969 that a Tongan girl was awarded a scholarship to study Medicine and perhaps because the girl concerned was Dux[1] of Tonga High School and could not possibly be overlooked! This situation had existed despite the fact that in 1875 the Tongan Constitution provided for free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls.

Many parents did not favour the idea of sending their daughters overseas; they feared for their safety as well as reputation. The establishment of the USP therefore, at least for Fiji parents, provided the opportunity for better access to higher education for some girls. However, statistics show that women have been under-represented at the USP. In 1980, only 36% of the total full-time student population were female. Furthermore, of the 200 students enroled in degree programmes, only 45 were women; of these, 30 were preparing to be high school teachers. Ten years later, in 1990, very little had changed. The total proportion of women students enroled went up by 2% to 38%. However, the proportion of women enroled in degree programmes has remained unchanged.

The performance of women students at the USP is interesting. In 1980, for example, about a third of those who graduated were women. A few women have received top honours; twenty have received gold medals in the last ten years and in 1986, all three gold medallists were women. It appears therefore that, when given the opportunity, women perform as well as men in higher education, if not better.

Women's Attitudes towards Themselves

A possible reason why women are not well represented in senior positions at the university is their own attitude. This is particularly so with regional staff, those who are citizens of Pacific Island countries (PICs) as well as a few of the expatriate women staff. Many of these women tend to downplay their particular skills and abilities, as drawing attention to one's past achievements is often considered as boastful and therefore socially unacceptable. This may mean than many women who are qualified to apply for jobs at the USP do not do so. Similarly, of those who are already employed, very few will apply for promotion, and/or put themselves up as possible candidates for senior administrative positions. This means that the most common path towards promotion for such women would be nomination by their respective heads of departments and sections.

---

[1] Top student.

Others' Attitudes

The attitudes held consciously or unconsciously by male colleagues may also contribute to women's under-representation at the senior managerial levels. In our experience, some male colleagues have a tendency to patronise their female counterparts when it comes to work-related issues or questions of further education and training. Often the idea of having a woman in a committee is not so much because she is seen as the most suitable for the job but in order to ensure female participation. One female colleague who applied for a USP scholarship was once told by her head of section that she did not need a PHD in order to do her job satisfactorily at the university. Such a line of reasoning would not have been acceptable to a male colleague.

Lack of Training Strategies

Finally, few women hold senior management positions at the university because there is no policy relating specifically to preparing women to take on such tasks. The university charter precludes any form of discrimination on the bases of sex, ethnicity and religion, the assumption being that everyone is treated equally and that everyone who joins the staff has an equal chance of pursuing a career. This, of course, is not the case in practice. The fact that women are outnumbered 3:1 as undergraduates means that already there will be fewer women applying for positions which require tertiary level studies. Then, once they get in, other factors, may militate against their advancement.

Women Managers: Some Personal Glimpses

Before making suggestions relating to our specific situation at the USP, we would like to share some of our personal experiences in the hope that such information may be useful in formulating strategies for promoting and enhancing the situation of women in management positions in higher education institutions.

We have found that there are no formal barriers at the USP to including women and giving them responsibility in a variety of areas within the university, including general policy-making. However, if there are barriers, they exist mainly in the minds of some men as well as some women. For them, there seems be a certain degree of reluctance to accept a woman in a position of authority. We have, for example, witnessed a few cases of over-supervision and control by some senior male staff of women in middle-level management positions.

In some instances, we have seen women in middle management positions taking up specific tasks in order to prove that they are capable of satisfactorily performing these. This notion of always trying to prove oneself may come about because we feel that many senior academics still believe that women are not serious contenders for some positions, especially senior academic posts. Privately, we have experienced expressions of support about the need to have women managers and heads of department, but we also know that very few people are willing to state these publicly. For example, in one or two cases, when shortlisted candidates for university appointments happen to be women, comments such as "we already have too many women in that section" have been made. We have not heard anyone complain about the predominance of men in any one department or section.

Sometimes it has been difficult to deal with superiors, especially if they are older men. In most of our societies, age and seniority are to be respected, and in some instances where we have felt a certain degree of disagreement, we have tended to conform to superiors' demands because of their age. Perhaps it is generally easier for men to defy authority.

We feel that we have a legitimate reason to be where we are now and do not feel the need to seek recognition and affirmation for our respective contribution to university administration... although we sometimes come across colleagues who feel the urge to congratulate us for doing something well, as if they had not quite expected us to succeed or to do as well as they did.

Generally, we have not had any difficulty relating to superiors, colleagues or subordinates. However, there have been times when it has not been easy to exercise authority over some male and female colleagues, who do not seem to want to take no for an answer. In one or two cases, there were attempts made by more senior (in age as well as academic rank) colleagues to persuade us to change our minds, assuming of course that we had been ill-advised. In most cases, we have been able to sort out problems in an amicable manner, although we feel that colleagues, especially male ones, would not have seen fit to question our decisions if we were men.

We feel that the "culture" of the university management is made up of the collective culture of those holding management positions within the university. Attitudes to women entering management would therefore be those of senior managers, most of whom are men. As expected, these attitudes would be influenced by the social structures and cultures from which people come. We are very much aware of the nature of these attitudes and have devised appropriate strategies of our own, particularly non-threatening ones, in order to deal with them. For example, in dealing with Pacific Islanders, particularly older men, aggressive, confrontational styles are excluded as these will surely fail. We are, however, aware of the need to be sensitive to others' attitudes and feelings, just as we expect others to be sensitive to our own. In our experience, strategies which are non-threatening seem to have worked better in an environment such as this, where there exist a multiplicity of cultures and social backgrounds.

Some Suggestions

We believe that there is a need for more vigorous counselling of girls at the high school and university level, to take up non-traditional subjects, such as the

Sciences, Accounting, Economics and Management. Some headway has been made in this area in a few schools, especially in Fiji and Tonga, but we know that many teachers continue to treat boys and girls differently when it comes to career counselling because of their own upbringing and cultural orientations. Very little research has been done in this area, although the number of girls whom we know to be doing well in the Sciences at university come from supportive home rather than school backgrounds. While this may be the result of better-informed parents, there is probably a need for more public education of parents in order to strengthen their support for their daughters' education.

In terms of staff development, the USP already has a strong staff training programme aimed at developing regional staff, by assisting them to improve their knowledge and skills. This is done mainly through the awards of post graduate scholarships. The university also sponsors staff (both regional and expatriate) to undertake studies part-time at the university itself or in other regional tertiary institutions. In the past ten years, approximately 15 women have been sent abroad for further training. More recent attempts to encourage female academic staff to pursue studies overseas include the provision of children's allowances. This has meant that women staff who may wish to apply to go overseas for further studies know that, if they were successful in getting a scholarship, they would be able to take their family with them. Furthermore, the Staff Development Committee which nominates persons for overseas awards has been conscious of the need to strive for gender balance when it comes to making nominations. For example, in 1991, three out of seven candidates for training leave were women. In 1992, three out of six persons who will take up training in 1993 are women.

Staff counselling is another possible strategy. It is important that younger women on the academic and administrative staff receive encouragement from their Heads of Departments and seniors, to strive to improve their academic status by doing more research, attending conferences and generally acknowledging their special contribution to their section. Within this last area, we are not talking about women being always given jobs which, to us at least, seem to require a nurturing function or social skills, such as, for example, student counselling or being responsible for the social club. A lot of thankless tasks are imposed on women staff simply because the general feeling in a department or section is that women are better at dealing with students' problems or providing food for a party.

In our view, apart from a handful of very assertive, mostly expatriate women, most of our female staff need some encouragement to take on responsible jobs for which they are quite capable but would not otherwise volunteer. We suggest that sponsorship of female managers and efforts to assure their advancement could be made a requirement for senior managers of institutions. This would help overcome the frequent pattern in which women have not been appointed to jobs or have been denied advancement largely because of a negative perception related to their gender.

Special workshops and seminars for women in management is another possibility. This has been a rather popular method of preparing women for management and leadership positions in some countries, and we ourselves have attended one or two of these, usually with overseas sponsorship. For example, we have both attended workshops and seminars specifically aimed at enhancing skills in the management of higher education. One of the most important functions of such gatherings has to do with the dissemination of information, deemed to be useful to participants in their chosen fields. Another relates to the establishment of networks aimed at strengthening women managers' ability to function in their respective jobs. All these are useful mechanisms for improving and enhancing women's management knowledge and skills, and more are needed. However, it is our view that, in many of these workshops, women often go away thinking that in order to participate in management or take up leadership roles, that they have to be more assertive and aggressive - in other words, women have to be more like men.

We feel that there is a need to re-examine criteria for judging management and leadership skills. We feel that when it comes to women in management in higher education, we seem to be hitting our heads against a brick wall. University management the world over has been and will remain the domain of men unless women's perspectives are infused into both the structure and processes of university life. In other words, the issue here is not moulding women to fit the university structure (which is determined by men) but to change the structure in order to better accommodate women's nature, interests and needs.

To begin with, there is a need for those in management of universities to recognize that there is no single mode of social experience and interpretation; that it is necessary for women's perspectives and experiences to form a part of what is usually taken to be the definition of university intellectual and social life. This means that women must be well represented in the University Senate and Council. Furthermore, their presence in bodies related to student welfare is vital. If this is the case, issues such as the provision of child-minding facilities can be effectively addressed. If women are under-represented in these decision-making bodies, efforts need to be made to correct the situation.

Secondly, there is a need for organizations to value those qualities which seem to be more characteristic of women than men. It is somewhat unfortunate that many women still believe that in order to be successful managers, they ought to be more like men and "beat them at their own game". In our case, it has sometimes been difficult to deal with the conflict created by the power of the judgement of selfishness, that often-brandished judgement passed on women who choose to follow professional careers. We are often regarded as selfish, non-conformist or even rebellious. Some of us have succumbed to social expectations and consciously strive not only to pursue a successful career but also to be good managers at home; in other words, many of us end up being pulled in different directions, and the usual result is a stressful life. Others of us have sacrificed either a career in order to be a better homemaker, or sacrificed home and family life in order to pursue a career.

This idea of self-sacrifice has perhaps been the one ethic which has confused the struggle of many women to achieve leadership positions in organizations whether they be universities or corporations. This ethic is central to women's concern about relationships and is reflected in their caring and nurturing activities. This is in contrast to the ethic of individual achievement which seems to be more characteristic of most men; an ethic anchored in the notions of equality, respect and fair play.

It is our view that organizations, including universities, need to recognize and understand the importance of human relationships within the workplace. Such an understanding is more likely to be brought about by women managers because it is the source of their moral strength. We suggest therefore that these two ethics, self-sacrifice and responsibility, ought to form the basis for sound management and leadership in higher education.

For too long now, only men's voices have been heard in universities; only their theories, based on their experiences, were recognized and studied. We need now to ensure that more women come to university, take up positions there and join the men in the management of universities. Women's voices, even in their silences, need to be heard. More people need to hear about the ethics of caring and the tie between responsibility and relationships. It is usually when this tie is broken that aggression and violence emerge (Gilligan, 1982:173).

We need therefore to seek to devise styles of management and leadership which are conducive to the perspectives of women: to responsibility rather than separation; to caring rather than individual rights; to equity rather than equality; to concern about others' needs rather than fairness; to compassion for others rather than respect from others. In our view, these are the kinds of perspectives which need to be nurtured and encouraged among managers and leaders in higher education institutions, if women are to find their rightful place in this important sphere of social and intellectual life.

Reference

Gilligan, C. 1982: *In a Different Voice*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER EQUITY IN THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN UNIVERSITIES: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

Gwendoline Williams and Claudia Harvey

INTRODUCTION

At the invitation of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the authors have agreed to spotlight the efforts that are being made at the University of the West Indies (UWI) to promote the career advancement of women academics and administrators in the Commonwealth Caribbean. At the same time, Gender Studies with a focus on women is being developed as a area of scholarship in its own right.

In the paper, we shall briefly describe some of the developments that have occurred, singling out one of the major staff development exercises that took place in mid-1990, and which went some way in consolidating the policy and programme initiatives that have been in train. The exercise took the form of a regional workshop on Women Managers in Higher Education, organized by the Association of Commonwealth Universities, in conjunction with the University of the West Indies and other agencies including UNESCO, CIDA and the British Council. We shall describe the context in which the workshop was planned; its objectives and the perceived outcomes. Finally, we shall comment on the contribution that staff development can make to promoting a gender-based approach to career development and general human resource management in Caribbean universities.

A limitation of this paper is that while the ACU workshop had participants from both the UWI and the University of Guyana, the other Commonwealth Caribbean university, it has not been possible to draw directly on the concrete experiences of that university in discussing the issues of gender equity in university management and administration.

Background to the Workshop

(a) The Problem of Representation

For more than a decade, women academics and administrators at the Universities of the West Indies and Guyana have been signalling to their respective university communities that the underdevelopment and under-utilization of their abilities were hindering their careers, and consequently, the overall development of the two institutions. The central argument has been that equality of career opportunity along gender lines must be an integral part of any strategy to promote long-term development in higher education. One of the main ways in which this could be achieved is through a human resource management policy of staff development and career enhancement that explicitly takes account of the needs and aspirations of its women professionals.

The University of the West Indies, for its part, has responded positively, having taken on board the findings of an institutional review conducted by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1988 which included an assessment of the personnel resources of the institution, especially within the academic community. The report noted that the UWI was facing a 'brain drain' in view of the movement of some of its prominent academics to lucrative positions abroad. At the same time, like in other Caribbean organizations, the UWI's female members of staff were finding it difficult to move up the career ladder in the organization, and therefore increase their representation in the top echelons of university management. It shared the conclusion drawn by Joycelin Massiah who headed the university-based Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP) that 'there is abundant evidence of the inability of women to exploit apparently favourable, but male-dominated infrastructural arrangements in order to improve their competence to function more effectively in their societies' (p. 164).

Significantly, some debate has been taking place on the forms in which gender inequity manifests itself, given the clear statistical evidence that comparatively speaking, the level of women's access to higher education and to entry-level technical and managerial positions in the job market have increased. Proof of this is provided in the university's records on student admission which show, for example, that between 1962/3 and 1985/86 the percentage of female registration rose from 32.9% to 52.9%. A similarly favourable picture of improvements in labour force participation was also reported in Derek Gordon's *Male/Female Mobility in the Labour Market* (1987). However, women find themselves facing a number of structural and organizational barriers when they seek to enter top management, the principal route to career advancement (Williams and Hewitt, 1987).

It is ironic that the university, a vital part of the education sector that is expected to play a proactive role in achieving the goals of equality of opportunity in the society, is itself facing the acute problem of gender inequity in respect of overall representation of women in the faculty and administrative staff, and especially, in top management. Table 1 shows the distribution of women faculty as a percentage of all staff as well as of all women.

Table 1

UWI Full-Time Academic Staff
Percentage Women by Faculty, 1986

Faculty	As % of all Staff	As a % of all Women in UWI
Agriculture	7.1	2.0
Arts & General Studies	30.4	18.7
Education	48.4	20.7
Engineering	5.6	2.7
Law	33.3	4.0
Medicine -		
- Pre-Clinical	9.5	1.3
- Clinical	31.9	24.7
Natural Sciences	12.1	10.0
Social Sciences	22.6	16.0
Total	22.9	100
N =	654	150

Source: CIDA Report, p. 84

Except for the Education Faculty, the representation of women in all faculties is more or less about one-fifth of all staff. In the Faculty of Education, women represent just under 50% of the staff. One of the major implications of this is that the pool from which women can be drawn to enter the top hierarchy of the university is very small. It is no wonder therefore, that they are so under-represented in university management, despite the espoused policy of open access.

These ratios which reflect in quantitative terms the distribution of women on the staff of UWI do not by themselves give the true position of women in the career structure of the university. For example, even in the Faculty of Education where the distribution is clearly more favourable, and has been improved even more in the last five years, only on one of the three campuses has a woman been able to become a Head of Department or a Faculty Dean[1]. This is so despite the fact that these are elected positions. As said earlier, this could be attributable to the fact that their relatively late entry to university employment means that they take longer to gain tenured positions, a condition for contesting the elections for faculty administrative positions. In addition, there is the perception that even when eligible women do exist and are interested in participating in faculty administration, their female colleagues are not inclined to give them the kind of support needed. There is optimism that this attitude is likely to change, but that it would take some time to do so.

---

[1] The discrepancy between the disproportionately high complement of female staff in the primary and secondary sectors of the education system in the Caribbean and their relatively low representation in school administration and management at the level of government ministries is similar to that found at the university.

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of women by academic rank. Of particular significance is their level of representation in the upper academic ranks.

Table 2

Full-Time Academic Staff by Rank and Campus
November 1, 1986, - Percentage Women

Campus	Prof	Snr.	Lec.	Asst.	Total	
	Lec	Lec		Lec.	N	%
Mona						
Teaching	9.7	19.8	38.0	42.9	295	29.5
Admin.	12.5	63.2	63.0	100 (N=4)	77	59.7
St. Augustine						
Teaching	0.0	25.1	62.0	50 (N=4)	252	15.1
Admin.	25 (N=4)	47.1	64.3	100 (N=2)	51	56.9
Cave Hill						
Teaching	0.0	16.1	30.9	1/2	107	23.4
Admin.	1/3	11.1	60.0	0/1	23	34.8
University						
Teaching	4.3	15.1	30.6	46.2	654	22.9
Admin.	20.0	46.7	63.1	85.7	151	55.0
Total	7.1	20.5	36.8	60.0	805	28.9

Source: CIDA Report, p. 83

The figures show that women make up only 4.3 per cent of the professorial rank, compared with 22.9 per cent of the university's total teaching staff. However, their representation in the administrative ranks is significantly better in that they make up 55 per cent of the staff. These however are mostly middle-level administrative positions, and are to be found mainly in the Library, the Registry and the Bursary. While they represent only 20 per cent of administrative staff at the professorial level, there is greater parity at the senior lecturer level and lecturer level, 46.7% and 63.1% respectively. Differences in women's participation in the administrative ranks among the various campuses are not very pronounced, with the exception of the Cave Hill Campus where the senior lecturer level has a very low rate of 11.1 per cent, and Mona with 62.3 per cent is significantly above average (CIDA Report, p. 83).

(b) The University's Response

The issue of the representation of women in the academic and administrative life of the University of the West Indies was addressed head on in 1983 when, mainly through the initiatives of the university's Women in Development Unit (WAND) and the Women in the Caribbean Project (Institute of Social and Economic Research - ISER), a large-scale interdisciplinary research project on women in the Caribbean was set up on each of the university's three campuses. This launched groups for Women's Studies. It is important to note briefly the contribution that WAND, as a precursor of the WICP Project and later the Women's Studies groups, made in signalling to the university the importance of gender analysis in addressing the specific concerns of women in Caribbean development.

The CIDA report referred to an evaluation report on the unit done by Yudelman (1987, pp. 87-88) which noted that WAND had been functioning very effectively in that it had: (i) raised the level of consciousness in the region about the issues and problems of women; (ii) established inter-institutional linkages and communication networks especially between governmental and non-governmental agencies; (iii) pursued the strengthening of women's organizations through management development activities that included training in human resource development and basic community organization; (iv) promoted community-centred participatory research; and (v) project development and fund raising. Operating from within the university, WAND was therefore able to demonstrate that issues of gender, and more specifically the concerns of women are legitimate public policy issues, and if ignored, would subvert all efforts to optimise the use of the region's human resources, not least of which, those found at the UWI.

The programme of activities of the Women's Studies group was coordinated by a university Steering Committee whose secretariat was sited on the Mona Campus, Jamaica and the membership of which included the coordinators of each of the campus groups and the head of the secretariat. The groups were later to receive considerable technical and management support from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Hague, with funding from the Dutch Government. The inter-institutional links were forged through a three-year project of co-operation between the UWI and the Institute in the areas of curriculum development, research and documentation, and staff development. Financial and other kinds of support also came from agencies such as the Ford Foundation, UNESCO and the Association of Commonwealth Universities.

The establishment of the campus-based Women's Studies groups, preceded since 1978 by the university-based Women and Development Unit (WAND) and the execution of the UWI/ISS Project between 1979 and 1982, were clear indications that the university was prepared to tackle the existing gender inequities through a programme of institutional development. This centred on staff development with an emphasis on staff training; the development of Women's Studies as a legitimate area of scholarship and teaching, with academic leadership at the professorial level; the establishment of outreach links with non-governmental organizations and other women's organization; and formal representation of women's interests in the major academic and administrative decision making bodies in the university. However, the university by 1988 still had a long way to go in institutionalizing Gender Studies and advancing the cause of women within and outside the institution. The CIDA report concluded:

> The analysis of the role of gender in society, as an integral part of the broader social context analysis, is essential for the better understanding of the dynamics of social and economic development in the Caribbean. **The efforts at UWI to teach, research and do outreach work on gender issues should be actively encouraged and supported from within the university and outside... There is obviously room for improvement at UWI with respect to both the overall level of participation of women in the teaching staff and their promotion to the higher ranks within both teaching and administrative staff** [Emphasis mine] (p. 88).

Evidence that the university had taken very seriously the feedback about its role in women and development both inside and outside its walls is reflected in the clear policy position on Women and Development Studies contained in its Long-term Development Plan, 1990-2000. In this regard, the plan identified four major goals:

> (i) the institutionalization of Gender Studies in the university;
>
> (ii) the sustaining and administering of a long-term research programme on gender issues in Caribbean development;
>
> (iii) the expansion of programme offerings in Gender Studies, including courses not for degree credit; and
>
> (iv) the expansion and enhancement of outreach activities that would allow Gender Studies to positively impact public policy and institutional development in the society. [The UWI, University Centre Development Plan, 1990-2000 A.D., p. 5, Section 130].

In elaborating on how these objectives would be achieved, the Plan went on to state:

> The objectives are to be achieved by a set of institutional arrangements and capital investments. The university conceives of the existing Women and Development Studies Groups evolving into a Centre for Gender Studies organized on a cross-campus basis with clear lines of communication, decision making, and accountability within the university system... [The

> Plan] proposes that the university provides a complement of professional and support staff at each campus and provides adequate infrastructural support... The capital costs are estimated to be U.S. $0.6 million.
> [The Development Plan, p. 5, Sections 16 and 17]

Constraints on Achieving Gender Equity

It is evident that there is growing consensus on the need for gender equity by bringing women in the university into the mainstream of academia and administration. Gender equity in this context is defined as: (i) comparable access by women to career opportunities across the various disciplines and levels of administration; (ii) support for effective job performance; (iii) increasing opportunities for career mobility through training and development; (iv) gender-fair appraisal and promotion through the system; and (v) commensurability of reward.

On examination of the issues related to these factors, we find that these various paths to achieving equity are fraught with many problems. Many of these are strategic or systemic in nature in that they require, for example, changes in the university's personnel policies. Others are organizational or related to the vagaries of policy implementation. For example, reference was made earlier to the subjective factors which can impede women in their bid to get elected to administrative positions, even in cases where there are no visible structural barriers to their involvement, for example, in the formal requirements for contesting faculty positions. In such situations, the constraining factors are organizational and human-behavioural in nature.

There are a number of issues that must be considered in seeking redress within the supposedly meritocratic system of career mobility within the university and other related organizations in the society. For example, from a structural stand-point, there is the reality that under-graduate entry-level statistics of women's access to UWI programmes across the various disciplines have only increased significantly - from 1:3 to 1:2 in several areas - over the last 20 years. Assuming that only a small percentage of the graduates seeks careers as university academics, since this has not been a traditional avenue in the professions, the actual pool from which women academics can be drawn would remain small for some time. The policy of West Indianization in respect of staffing, while very acceptable in principle, would further circumscribe recruitment and selection. Additionally, as relatively late starters, not only would there be fewer women academics in a position to compete for promotion in the university hierarchy, but their multiple roles in the family, the household and the community usually put additional pressures on women to balance marital and family responsibilities with the demands of teaching, research and outreach.

Very often, the women simply cannot manoeuvre as men do to develop impressive publication records; participate actively in university committees which usually involves travelling between the campuses on the different islands; and sustain the informal networks that have traditionally created what is popularly referred to as the university's 'old boys' club'. Sometimes, too, women simply do not think it appropriate to engage in such manoeuvres, thereby rejecting the use of such a strategy for moving ahead. What is sometimes not clear is whether they are against the notion of networking as a method of group mobilization or against the way it is employed by their male colleagues. The evidence does however point to the latter.

In the case of the professional administrators, strategies would have to be devised to put an end to the practice of women remaining concentrated at the middle-management area of administration in the university's nerve centres, for example, the Registry and the Bursary. One approach would be to create a clear career path that de-emphasizes academic research. Opportunities for advanced professional development and appropriate performance appraisal methods would have to be devised.

In the light of the need for the removal of the structural and organizational impediments to fair competition for career advancement, the recommendations of the CIDA report were particularly significant. These included the need for changes in existing personnel policies to take account of the factors which facilitate or hinder the entry and development of women within the university's career system. In addition, stress was placed on the importance of staff development through an increase in the number of scholarships and other forms of support so that the present increase in student access to higher degrees and advanced training for women professionals could be sustained.

Staff Development and the ACU

Jamaica Experience

July 1990 marked a significant stage in the development of the Women's Studies groups on all the campuses of the university. Group members were invited to participate in a Regional Training Workshop on Women in University Administration. So too, were academics and administrators from the University of Guyana, the other Commonwealth Caribbean university.

Unlike the two later ACU regional workshops held in Eastern and Southern Africa and West Africa in 1991 and 1992, no commissioned Needs Assessment Survey was undertaken. Instead, in late 1989 and early 1990, each campus group undertook its own informal review of the position of women professionals in the university, and identified some of the key concerns that it felt that the workshop should address. This took into account the progress that had already been made through the UWI/ISS project and the long-term development planning on the part of the university. In respect of the project, there had been the successful holding of interdisciplinary and disciplinary seminars throughout the university in areas such as the Humanities, Social Sciences, Agriculture and Law. Also, there were course offerings in Women's Studies; the building up of bibliographic materials; staff scholarships for advanced degrees and for short-term research projects; and to a lesser extent, some outreach activities.

The outcomes of the group discussions were conveyed to the workshop organizers. One of the concerns that repeatedly surfaced was the strategies that women should employ to move up in the university system, and the specific skills needed to be effective managers both in the academic and administrative realms. The exercise on the St. Augustine Campus was very intense. After much soul searching, group members drew very much the same conclusions that had been reached in the CIDA report. The under-representation of women in the top policy making bodies of the university had much to do with limited access to university employment over time and an absence of staff development opportunities. In accounting for the problem, the analysis went beyond structural and organizational explanations and included subjective factors such as poor self concept and lack of assertiveness. For example, the workshop raised the question of women not being more forceful in projecting themselves as capable of assuming the highest levels of executive or policy making responsibility in the university. Some of the main reasons given for the low level of assertiveness were:

(i) Assertiveness on the part of women was often misinterpreted by male colleagues as unacceptable aggressiveness and was therefore met with resistance;

(ii) University women had failed to learn how the university system works in relation to its structure of roles and responsibilities; the system of relationships including the informal social network; and the sources of financial and other resources that would support career advancement;

(iii) An under-developed social networking system prevented women from mobilizing as a group to chart a collective course for survival and growth within the university community;

(iv) The entrenched mythical view of women as the "domestic managers" within the university administration who are best suited for middle management administrative positions since they were supposed to have an eye for detail; endurance, persistency, a willingness to accept monotony, and an ability to cut and contrive to make the best use of limited resources;

(v) The inadvertent sustaining of the stereotype by the ambivalent responses of some of these professional women who appear to unstintingly accept the imposed role responsibilities and status of middle management, and often shy away from the opportunity to shape university policy and negotiate to promote their own career interests;

(vi) The stereotypes of women in respect of their professional image, management styles, and ways of coping with the stresses and strains of day to day work life. For example, there is the notion of the female

Registrar or Assistant Registrar as a 'strong' woman or even 'matriarch' and these terms are often used pejoratively or out of a sense of awe.

The overall conclusion of the discussions was that to date, the fact that women were not highly represented in the top levels of academia and administration in the university was largely due to a mix of institutional and psychosocial factors. In summary, these factors included limited educational and employment access; occupational role stereotyping reinforced by primary and continuing socialization; and the inability to manoeuvre to move upwards in a university's career system that is male dominated. The general recommendation for change was put as follows:

> The limited role of women in the university is indicative of the suboptimization of the pool of human resources or human potential that the institution and the society as a whole need in its overall development thrust. The situation requires, among other options, a career development thrust at the university that was gender sensitive.

In view of this, the group saw the workshop as an opportunity to continue to push for equality of opportunity by identifying talented women in every sphere of university life and supporting them through viable recruitment, selection, appraisal and reward systems. Increasing the consciousness of women as to the role they can play in their own advancement was seen to be equally vital.

The Workshop Agenda

As indicated earlier, this ACU workshop was a significant development in the life of the three Women's Studies groups in the university. It came at a time when consciousness had been considerably heightened about the need for a comprehensive strategy for bringing about gender-based career development within the university. To this end, the groundwork had been laid, for the problem of gender inequity had been identified and analysed, and policy prescriptions made. Just as importantly, there had been considerable progress in the establishing of women-focused Gender Studies as an area of scholarship; in staff development in technical areas; in outreach activities; and team building within each group. It was therefore an opportune moment for the groups to engage in some introspection, paying particular attention to the more human behavioural aspects of the implementation of change.

It was acknowledged that strategies for effecting structural and organizational changes, while very important, would not by themselves produce the kinds of outcomes desired. Promoting the cause of women within the university requires an appropriate balance between institutional and human behavioural concerns. A great deal of attention had been given to the former, and this had been amply demonstrated in the formal management audit of the UWI/ISS Project that had been recently conducted as a part of the requirements for the continuation of the project.

In the planning of the workshop, the need for balance was recognized, but as indicated earlier, because of the usual emphasis on the more institutional and systemic aspects of change, greater attention was to be given to the more human behavioural concerns. As a result, of the six modules planned, five centred on the development of the individual in relation to the group and the wider university community. The remaining one explored the university system largely as the context in which career aspirations were pursued and personal development sought. The overall goals of the workshop were to (i) provide a setting in which participants could explore their individual and collective experiences within the university; (ii) devise suitable ways of moving ahead in the system and (iii) ensure the successful institutionalization of Women's Studies as an academic pursuit. Perhaps, the admonition of one of the workshop facilitators to the participants best sums up the overall intent of the sessions:

> Competent women bring to management many invaluable qualities. But to be, or to become an equal, they must *feel* equal. We must work towards improving 'this sense of self'... The more positive our self concept, the greater our chance of success... The courage to move forward comes from confidence and encouragement, and confidence comes from preparedness. [It is necessary therefore] to keep up with changes and developments in your profession, and seek the appropriate training you consider necessary to sharpen your capabilities... Persist towards your defined goals and objectives and keep these realistic... Forget limitations and concentrate on opportunities. [Redhead, 1990, pp. 1-2]

The themes of the workshop reflected the thrust exemplified above. These were:

1. **The personal and professional development of women university staff in a Caribbean context;**

2. **The university system**: its internal and external environment and the implications for management and more specifically, for gender-based career development;

3. **Managerial skills** particularly with respect to the management of change in university settings;

4. **Communication skills** with an emphasis on negotiation skills, networking and team building;

5. **The management of stress** as this relates to time management, coping with discrimination, and conflict resolution; and

6. **Personal action planning** with a focus on career advancement.

Outcome of the Workshop

Workshop participants were very high in their praise of the two-week experience. They generally agreed that it was extremely rewarding, especially in the area of personal development and action planning for the future, as well as general management skills. During the informal feedback session that complemented the written formal evaluation, several of the women expressed their gratitude that the workshop had enlightened them on the multifaceted nature of the task of working towards the recognition and full participation of women as professionals in the university.

They realized, for example, that the policy prescriptions contained in the Long-Term Development Plan were a vital step in furthering the change process; but it also mattered very much how they prepared themselves to take advantage of the widening opportunities that successful implementation would bring. Also, they needed to bond together to handle the various forms of resistance that would inevitably surface as the balance of power changed in a manner that was more representative of the talents and abilities of the women who were already in the university, and the increase in their overall numbers through wider access.

Another area of success for the workshop was the opportunity it provided for bonding and creating a team spirit among many of the participants, who hitherto had not known each other, since they worked on different campuses or in different faculties. As they saw it, this was the basis for developing a functional network, a necessary strategy for channelling information on all aspects of university life and those issues that impinge on career development and Women's Studies as an area of academic endeavour. In addition, such a network was seen as a safety net that provided a certain amount of socio-emotional supportiveness, thereby reducing the sense of isolation that individual academics often feel in the university community.

Yet another positive gain was the exposure to a number of strategies that would help to improve relations between women and men on the campuses, for it was the considered view of the participants that in confronting the male-dominated power structure within the university, the intent was to change the basis of the relationship between the two groups so that it was more equitable. This was in direct contrast to the idea of a struggle for the narrow advantage of female dominance replacing that of the men. The aim was to change the social relations of gender in order to get rid of the systemic and socio-psychological barriers to the advancement of women in academia as well as within the university's administrative hierarchy.

Finally, a most encouraging outcome of the workshop was the decision taken on the St. Augustine Campus to replicate the workshop for those women who were not able to attend. This served to widen the consciousness raising process that had taken hold and increase the levels of energy for tackling the challenge of change. It resulted in the deepening of the skills and capabilities as well as the resolve to effect change on the part of the group leadership. It also attracted new members to the group and further signalled to the university authorities that the institutionalization of Women's Studies and improvements in the career prospects for university women was no longer optional but an unquestionable imperative.

Conclusion

This paper documents a conscious attempt to address the issue of gender equality in the employment practices in one of the two Commonwealth Caribbean universities in respect of its academic and administrative staff. The evidence suggests that at the University of the West Indies, women are under-represented at all levels in teaching and administration other than mid-level administration, and at the St. Augustine Campus only, teaching at the lecturer level.

The reasons for the under-representation can be attributed to a number of factors. These are: although on the increase, the traditionally low access to post secondary education; structural barriers in the formal university appointments system; inaccessibility to informal university networks, and sometimes the rejection of these are acceptable means of mobilizing support for academic and other pursuits; competing responsibilities at work and in the home; mythical perceptions of the role of women held by university men and women and the internalized perceptions of "accepted female roles", thereby minimizing assertive efforts on the part of women.

The UWI/ISS Project has a very long way in creating a climate of institutional acceptance for Women's Studies as a respected area of scholarship and women in the system as having parity of esteem with their male colleagues. The training workshop that was later conducted by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) in Jamaica and the follow-up activities on the respective campus groups sought to - and the responses of the participants indicate a high level of success - address these issues in the four main areas identified.

(i) Comparable Access to Opportunities Across Disciplines and Levels of Administration

The workshop addressed this issue by making the participants conscious of themselves as a source of power in the university environment and the society, and therefore the need for them to position themselves strategically within the university administration so that their collective and individual interests can be served. In so positioning themselves, for example, they could become more effective advocates for the development of Women's Studies in the university and more generally for the overall development of the institution.

With direct reference to their career advancement, women became stronger in the view that their advancement in the university was as much their right as it was for their male colleagues; and that it was necessary to remove the subjective and organizational barriers that exist in the system as a whole and in their individual situations. Participants regarded this focus on self worth and on women as a source of power and influence in the university and society as one of the most important outcomes of the workshop.

(ii) Support for Effective Job Performance

By addressing the personal, interpersonal and other interactive factors that facilitate or hinder upward mobility, participants became aware that many of the problems were not simply those of the individual but were also applicable to the women as a group and were therefore systemic in nature. They therefore re-affirmed their commitment to continue to build the Women's Studies Groups on their respective campuses and through the various programmes of activities, create support networks for individual development. For example, extending membership to men, the group had cross gender representation in their discussions of strategies for job performance. Also, a peer-support programme was mounted that has had the potential to help young women faculty and administrators meet the requirements for improved job performance. Emphasis was placed, for example, on having the university increase the amount of release time for research activity and other forms of professional development. It was recognised that the university was in a position to respond positively to these demands in view of the institutional activities in Women's Studies that were already on the way. The appointment of a Professor of Women's Studies was widely acknowledged as proof of the earnestness of the university's intent.

(iii) Opportunities for Career Mobility Through Training and Development

The women saw the creation of support groups, including male colleagues who were sympathetic to the issues of gender equity, and greater involvement in university activities in the various centres of power as very useful for career advancement in the system. Moreover, the workshop helped to remove some of the reluctance that participants often feel in being assertive in the workplace and the university community as a whole. It was acknowledged that information was a critical resource in building assertiveness, and the women recognised even more, the important role that their campus groups had been playing as advocates, clearing houses and sponsors for training and development opportunities that are available and for the increase of such opportunities.

(iv) Gender Fair Appraisal and Promotion

This area may prove to be the most difficult one to break through, since it is at the heart of both the structural and organizational barriers to upward mobility. It must be noted that the system does pose difficulty for men as well, since in systemic terms it operates on personnel management assumptions that are increasingly coming under question as the university engages in a review of its strategic goals and purposes and the operating systems that now exist[2]

The workshop helped the women to table the issue more directly and pledge deeper involvement in the various fora to address them. For example, because women frequently are late starters in moving up the university's career system, ever so often age may be used as a barrier, or they may be perceived to be "behind" their male peers. Women sensitized to the issues as a result of the discussions at the workshop have been able to more confidently engage the university community at large in a more intense and informed debate.

(v) Commensurability of Rewards

Frequently in university circles the status associated with upward mobility through tenure or gaining a professorship, for example, is itself the reward. Financial incentives are in themselves limited and intellectual and academic progress is considered an end in itself. Factors in section (iv) would therefore greatly impinge on matters related to commensurability of rewards. Once again strong advocacy by conscious women and men faculty members to urge that equity be achieved in this regard. The critical realization that the depriving of any one group in the university workforce ultimately devalues and depletes the whole human resource pool was probably one of the more potent messages taken from the workshop.

The ACU workshop, by helping women delve deeply into themselves to understand the factors related to gender inequity at the UWI - a process that was well on the way with the work of WAND, the WICP Project and the UWI/ISS Project and the university incorporation of some of the results in its Long-Term Development Plan - provided the context and the mind set for a continuing examination of the structural, organizational and human behavioural issues that account for such inequity. In addition the course helped participants to acquire some of the skills needed to engage in such analysis and for devising measures for effective advocacy.

Moreover, by focusing on equity rather than dominance, women were engaged in a proactive and positive process, not only of self and group development, but just as importantly, in the institutional strengthening of the university as a whole. Issues of gender were not divorced from the issues of the development of the university or the society and the region. Human resource development and management was the over arching focus of the discussions that took place through the workshop. The affirmation of human values was the thrust of the discourse.

---

[2] Within recent times the university is actively considering a review of its staff appraisal system with a view to giving parity to the various job performance criteria, for example, research, teaching, outreach and participation in university administration.

Given the long-term and embedded nature of the some of the problems raised, the workshop was seen as a small step in the direction of change. It had to be put alongside the other activities that had been taking place and the follow-up activities that have continued, now in even more vigorous fashion. The latter have taken the form of more workshop; the implementation of a research programme with the requisite funding; new modules and courses in undergraduate and postgraduate offerings; attendance at conferences and other outreach events; study leave opportunities and the moves towards setting up a specialized unit for Women's Studies. At the heart of the strategy for the institutionalization of Women's Studies has been equity in employment opportunities and career advancement for women and the overall development of the woman academic or administrator as a well balanced person and professional.

References

Association of Commonwealth Universities. "Session Plan for ACU workshop". Mimeo, July 1990.

Redhead, C. "Address to ACU/CIDA/UWI Training Workshop on Management Development for Women at the Close of Module 2". Mimeo, July 1990.

Loubser, J.J.; Hughes, R.C.; Ali, Z.; Bourne, C. *Report on Institutional Review of the University of the West Indies*. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). February, 1988.

University of the West Indies. *The University Centre Development Plan, 1990-2000 A.D.*, 1990.

Williams, G. "Women in the Administration of the University of the West Indies". Mimeo, May 1989.

Some feminine characteristics
omen can lessen conflicts. A wo
scientiousness in seeing the deta

Formal Education

A woman's natural ability or co
certain degree of higher educatio
quires also a step up in educationa
donesian women managers, especi
ows that the percentage of wome
n. Nevertheless, formal educatio
isite in order to succeed in the

Women's Organizations

The phenomenon of individu
ecially in urban society. We need
ng-royong. This means working t
roach, women cannot make mu
cy. *Gotong-royong* is based o
overcome the limitations in

Women's groups can take
ochial, based on the place of resi
orm these organizations belongs t
ns, there are federations at th
lerations must offer women more
itions.

Thus, it can be concluded that
omen still require a slow and l
tion. Nevertheless, taking
nications which provide data
s could be faster than predict

BEST COPY AVAILABLE